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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE ADIEU.

OUR task is accomplished. We proposed, at starting, to traverse the lengths and the breadths of the VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE. With such ability as we have, we have worked out our original design—not, indeed, precisely as it existed in our mind's eye, but with as near an approach to it as other engagements would permit. Before bidding adieu to the kind and patient friends who have borne us company to the end, we think it meet, with all brevity, to recall the scenes through which we have traveled together.

The voluntary principle, as we have seen, declares that what men do for the support of public worship and for the ministration of spiritual instruction, whether for themselves or others, is a matter which should be left to something higher than law to regulate—which should represent, not the efficiency of a command from without, but the power of a principle within—and which should grow up out of living motives rather than stand as the lifeless result of legal authority. We have been engaged in the inquiry, whether this mode of carrying on religion possesses any peculiar efficacy, and whether, on the whole, it is likely to afford a fair illustration of the power and the glory of the Christian system.

Glancing at the general characteristics of what we have ventured to call religious willinghood, and taking in view its latent *intrinsic excellencies*, we were led to conclude that it is in perfect harmony with all the higher maxims of philosophy. It practically recognises the essential and inextinguishable life of truth—and out of that life it professes to grow—the mere concretion of such spiritual vitality as may happen to exist—the material fibre formed out of the sap which quickens it; and, as it forms, becoming the conduit through which life may rise and flow, and embody itself in ever-fresh formations, until Christianity matures into a perfect tree, whose leaves of healing all nations may apply. Economising its own strength, it affords opportunity for the application of the whole power which religion, at any given moment, may supply, and it undertakes no more than the existing amount of religion will enable it to realise. It leaves Christianity at liberty to modify its own institutions, and to assimilate them to itself—to adapt its means to the main objects of revelation—and yet, in reference to these very institutions, it admits of, in unison with unchangeableness of structure, a certain self-adjusting flexibility of outward form. The stupid dogmas and grotesque shapes in which religion in connexion with the voluntary principle sometimes displays itself, cannot be fairly charged upon it. The evils complained of are the evils of our nature and of its moral condition; the immediate agent by the force of which they are thrown out to public view is Christian truth; and voluntarism is to be regarded merely as the stage upon which Christian truth, coming in contact with human nature, will produce, in the first instance, these unseemly results. Judged of on a large and comprehensive scale, it is so far from being capricious that it is remarkable for nothing so much as for the steadiness and permanency of its progress. Its reproductive energy is often complained of as running to inconvenient extremes: the laws of its very being tend in every instance to secure its perpetuity, and the scope of its effort is commensurate with the world.

We have tested the soundness of the voluntary principle by showing its real, if not obvious harmony with the nature of man, considered as an individual. The main object of religious institutions being persuasion—the persuasion of creatures endowed with reason, capable of faith, and strongly affected by passion—we attempted to estimate the extent to which Christian willinghood ran parallel with this object. The result of our investigation was satisfactory, at least to our own judgment. Voluntarism, we observed, leaves ample elbow-room to the will, harmonises with what may be designated the proprietary passion, and gives it play; and, instead of superseding personal responsibility, directly appeals to it, fosters its susceptibility, and increases its action. It recognises in man all his individual claims. It constitutes him sole arbiter within his own domain. It submits a duty; it appeals to conscience, compassion, and spiritual principle; and it leaves the man himself at liberty to hear, to incline, to resolve. It pays a becoming respect to

what every human being demands as his inalienable birthright. Under its guidance, liberality flows at the bidding of the understanding; the heart follows the head; the hands and feet obey the eye. It teaches men first to see, then to walk. It stimulates faith into activity, strengthens it by accustoming it to exertion, ever and anon widens the sphere of its operation, gradually makes it acquainted with its own might, and causes it to taste the glory of its own puttings-forth and triumphs. Overlooking as much as possible the present and immediate defects and evil habits and perversities of human nature, it appeals to all the nobler attributes of humanity—seeks to awaken them to life—and, by casting itself in confidence upon them, to do them honour, and thus teach them to do honour to themselves. Against the danger to which all ministers of truth are exposed, of shaping their message to the taste of their hearers, it provides some very efficient checks—the kind of dependence in which it places the teachers of Christianity is only in the judgment of cockscombs at all degrading—and whilst it holds out very slender encouragement to those whose chief aim is a living, it throws open the door of office to all who prize Christianity above lucre.

Nor is the harmony of the voluntary principle with the social nature and position of man less obvious. Organised society brings out into activity wants, tendencies, and perils peculiarly its own. Minds thrown together into masses undergo a species of fermentation, and the entire body passes into a result differing materially in character from anything which individual existence could have exemplified. Conventional modes of life create conventional laws; and man, in the social state, demands, in order to fitting treatment, an adaptation of appliances and means calculated to meet the new and peculiar features of his case. This demand the system of Christian willinghood supplies. Powerfully operating as it does upon the social body, the voluntary principle yet gives no encouragement to the selfish and dominant spirit natural to man even in his best state. The love of rule so common to our nature, and our imperiousness of temper, it directly rebukes, and tickles into irritability no proud aspirations after exclusive influence and power. It does nothing to engender the jealousies and bigotry of spiritual division—nothing to aggravate them. It moves in a sphere altogether distinct from, and superior to, the secular politics of men—leaves them where it finds them—asks no modification of them in order to its success. It can work under the despotism of a Domitian—it can flourish in the republic of America. And yet, but for it, limited as in our own country especially its sphere has been, it is impossible to calculate to what an unwieldy size of plethoric selfishness the nation would grow; for in many spheres of benevolence, but especially in the maintenance of religious institutions, it has served to rouse our sense of duty to others into something like feeling. It promotes the spirit of enterprise which is the very salt of society. It is the cement of nations, and, when completely carried out, will constitute a sort of net-work of peace and union, connecting together in one bond of brotherhood the several nations of the earth. All sympathies meeting in one central truth—all energies occupied in the benevolent diffusion of one system of remedial doctrine—all hearts beating in unison to one high and sacred theme—it will be next to impossible that the jarring interests of time should prevail to dis sever the ties which link land to land.

Lastly. The voluntary principle has been found to harmonise with the *whole genius of Christianity*. As we listen to the latter speaking her sublime message, and delivering her benevolent and tender counsels, we cannot but be sensible that the tones of her voice, equally as the burden of her commission, are in sweet unison with those of the former. We look from the one to the other, and see no dissimilarity; and the more we know of the one, the more kindly we are disposed to regard the other. We observe, too, that just in proportion as Christianity gets into the secret chamber of human nature, it makes men real volunteers, even where it allows them to remain professed opponents of the system. In its influence it may be regarded as a perfectly bland and genial atmosphere, for the budding forth, and flowering, and fruit-bearing of every impulse created by revealed truth. It stimulates the self-acting tendencies of the inner man; and that principle of moral life which Christianity begets in the heart, slowly it may be, but progres-

sively, evolves under the influence of this system, displays its essential vitality, and manifests its latent power. It trenches not upon the dignity of truth—usurps none of its prerogatives. What it claims, it claims not in its own right, but in homage to the power which it represents. It is in perfect unison with the higher and more spiritual order of government, under which Christianity places the human will, and does its "spiriting gently." It knows no sanctions but those of Christian truth; and, confident in its vitality and resources, comes to its aid, not as a co-ruler to command, but as a servant to obey. It borrows no assistance whatever from earthly authority. Its appeals are made to whatever sense we have of the spiritual and the divine. Eschewing the sanction of political authority, it must needs rely wholly upon the religious. To give is its characteristic—to give rather than to take. It is generosity carried into the spiritual world. It is deferential obedience to its sole ruler.

Such, then, is the voluntary principle. We have seen its more note-worthy features, but we have not seen them all. Time would fail us, and the patience of our readers. We have now to take leave of a subject upon which we have laboured with fond and growing interest. In good time we have brought these papers to a close. Important movements are astir, and will need, for some period to come, both space and attention. Gentle reader—farewell!

MEANS OF EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.

If the introduction of the Factories Education bill had produced no other good result than the invaluable statistical information as to the real state of the population of the manufacturing districts, which appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* of last Saturday, an abstract of which will be found below—furnishing, as it does, the most complete and triumphant vindication of the efficiency of the voluntary principle to supply the means of education, both secular and religious, to the great mass of the people—it would have been worth all the toil, excitement, and agitation which have been called into play by the introduction of that measure. The merit of originating the design of attempting to collect the materials for taking an impartial estimate of the actual resources for secular and religious education, supplied in the manufacturing districts at the present time, is due solely to Edward Baines, Esq., jun., of Leeds. Convinced that the representations as to the state of the manufacturing districts, contained in the report of the Children's Employment commission, were not only incorrect, but grossly exaggerated, he thought it his duty to attempt a vindication of that portion of the population on a larger scale, and with new evidence. The peculiar facilities he enjoyed through the medium of the *Leeds Mercury*, which is extensively circulated throughout the northern counties, rendered the accomplishment of this object a matter of much less difficulty than it might otherwise have been. The mode by which it was proposed to carry out the object he thus describes:—

"In pursuance of this design I publish an appeal to the ministers of religion, superintendents of Sunday schools, and manufacturers, of Yorkshire and Lancashire, requesting that they would in their several townships and parishes collect the statistics of religion and education, so as to furnish evidence to the world of the real condition of the manufacturing districts in these respects. Twenty-four ministers and gentlemen of various denominations, and of all parties, joined in recommending the proposal; and a committee was formed to obtain the desired information in Leeds, and to assist in obtaining it from other parts of this and the neighbouring counties. In my appeal, the greatest stress was laid on 'perfect accuracy': the object was stated to be 'not to make out a case, but to ascertain the exact truth.'"

The invitation was quickly responded to:—

"In accordance with the proposal, committees were formed in all the manufacturing towns of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, consisting of ministers of religion, superintendents of Sunday schools, and other gentlemen: schedules were furnished, on a simple but comprehensive plan: when the information had been collected, the schedules were returned, in every case subscribed with the names of the individuals who obtained it, and also attested by the signatures of magistrates, ministers of religion, and other persons of respectability; and the results have been drawn out by an able accountant and statistician, long accustomed to such inquiries."

The result of these extensive investigations is given in the *Leeds Mercury* of Saturday last; and, judging from the minute particulars which are there presented in a tabular form, from almost every part of the manufacturing districts, must have been a most herculean task to classify and throw into so

compact a form, and reflects great credit on all the parties concerned in their compilation.

The returns comprise schedules containing (separately) the name of every place of worship, every Sunday school, and every public day school, and most of the private ones, in each township, with the number of sittings, teachers, scholars, &c., attached to each. The following is a statement of the districts and population included in the returns:—

"I have obtained returns from parishes and townships in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, containing altogether a population of 2,019,260, namely—

Places in Yorkshire, with a population of ..	770,265
do. Lancashire	1,207,495
do. Cheshire	41,500

Total population 2,091,260"

The whole will, we should hope, be published in a separate and more enduring form. Meanwhile, we avail ourselves of the admirable summary which Mr Baines has embodied in the shape of a letter to Sir Robert Peel, as affording a general view of the result.

CHURCH AND CHAPEL ACCOMMODATION.

The returns exhibit the provision of church and chapel accommodation:—

"1st. As compared with the real requirements of the population.

"2nd. As compared with other places.

"3rd. As compared with some former period, so as to judge of the improvement or deterioration.

"4th. In regard to the manner in which the accommodation has been provided."

Before giving the returns under this head, Mr Baines cites the opinions of the Bishop of London, who thought that "60 per cent was the minimum accommodation that ought to be provided," and of the Editor of the *Congregational Magazine*, who judges 50 per cent "as amply sufficient for the wants of the community." From a tabular return made in 1838, as given in the *Congregational Magazine*, it appears, that in the metropolis, the proportion of sittings to the population is 36 per cent; to the population of Westminster alone, "the favoured abode of the royal family, the bishops, and nearly all the members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, with the choice of the gentry of the land, and possessing the advantage of a dean and chapter, who have large revenues," 30 per cent. What then is the actual provision for religious worship in the manufacturing districts?

"You will perceive, by the tables in the 8th page, that in the districts from which returns have been received in Yorkshire, there is church and chapel room for 381,808 persons, in a population of 770,265—being more than 49½ per cent.

"In Lancashire, there is church and chapel room for 504,983 persons, in a population of 1,207,495—being nearly 42 per cent.

"In the only two returns from parishes in Cheshire (the border towns of Ashton, &c., being thrown into the Lancashire list) there appears to be church and chapel room for 17,225 persons, in a population of 41,500—being more than 41 per cent.

"The returns from the three counties together stand thus—

	Population.	Church and chapel room.
Yorkshire ..	770,265	381,808
Lancashire ..	1,207,495	504,983
Cheshire	41,500	17,225
Totals	2,019,260	904,016

"Being a proportion of sittings to population of 44½ per cent.

"I am sure you will admit that thus far the returns of church and chapel accommodation do not disgrace us. In Westminster the supply is 30 per cent—in all London 36 per cent—among the 'untutored savages,' 44½ per cent."

He then inquires into the present provision for religious worship in these districts, as compared with former periods, prefacing it with the following extract from the report of the Children's Employment commission:—

"That neither in the new colliery and mining towns which have suddenly collected together large bodies of the people in new localities, nor in the towns which have suddenly sprung up under the successful pursuit of some new branch of trade and manufacture, is any provision made for education by the establishment of schools with properly qualified teachers, nor for affording the means of moral and religious instruction and training, nor for supplying the spiritual wants of the people; nor in general is there any provision whatever for the extension of educational and religious institutions corresponding with the extension of the population."

The following is the return:—

	Population.			Church & Chapel sittings		
	In 1801.	In 1841.	Increase per cent.	In 1800.	In 1843.	Increase per cent.
In Yorkshire ..	377,581	770,265	104	121,959	381,808	213
Lancashire ..	486,890	1,207,495	148	139,349	504,983	262
Cheshire	20,146	41,500	106	8,610	17,225	100
Totals	884,617	2,019,260	128	269,918	904,016	234½

Increase in population 128 per cent.

Apparent increase in church and chapel room, on the whole, 234½ per cent. In the West Riding of Yorkshire (as far as returns have been received) while the population has increased 104 per cent., the church and chapel room has increased 213 per cent. In Lancashire, increase of population 148 per cent.; increase of accommodation 262 per cent.

The manner in which this church and chapel room has been provided is then noticed:—

"The government and the legislature have, no doubt, in their wisdom and munificence done it all! Or, at any rate, churchmen who possess, Sir Robert Inglis tells us, thirty-nine fortieths of the wealth of the country, have interposed with their bounty on behalf of a necessitous people, whilst the manufacturers were too busy scraping together money, and oppressing their workmen, to make any provision whatever for the extension of educational and religious institutions, corresponding with the extension of the population!"

"No, sir. There has been a mightier and more bountiful hand than that of government here; there has been a principle stronger than any that governments conjure with. Even the established church has not all the merit. Observe the returns:—

	Episcopal churches and chapels.				Chapels of other denominations.			
	Built before 1800.		Present number.		Built before 1800.		Present number.	
	Churches.	Sittings.	Churches.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.	Chapels.	Sittings.
Yorkshire	74	60,776	151	121,886	103	61,183	547	259,922
Lancashire	76	83,236	189	314,436	85	56,113	544	290,547
Cheshire	3	4,800	5	7,200	4	3,810	22	10,025
Totals	153	148,812	345	343,522	192	121,106	1113	560,494

"Increase in church sittings 194,710.

"Increase in chapel sittings 439,388."

But the episcopalians had shown what might be done by the voluntary principle, as the following summary proved:—

"Only fifty-one churches, out of the 192 built since 1800, have been built out of parliamentary grants (and even those were aided by subscriptions): the rest (with some exceptions, perhaps) have been built by individuals, by local corporations, or by subscription, and we must therefore rank them among the fruits of voluntary zeal. The voluntary exertions of the church and dissenters together, then, have together provided as follows:—

	Places of Worship.	Sittings.
Churches built by private subscription or local funds, since 1800 ..	141	128,217
Chapels built by dissenters, since 1800	921	439,388
Totals	1,062	567,605

"Said I not truly, that there had been a mightier and more bountiful hand here than that of government? Yes, sir, even the hand of Christian principle, drawing freely and unbidden from its own resources—not another's—and pouring out its thankful tribute at the foot of Him who first bestowed it."

He then puts this triumph of the voluntary principle in a yet stronger light.

"Since the year 1815, the ecclesiastical commissioners have built 281 churches, out of the public money, throughout all England and Wales; but since the year 1800, voluntary zeal has built 1,062 churches and chapels in these manufacturing districts alone! And yet you doubt the power of the voluntary principle!"

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

These returns are considered under two heads:—

"1st. Is their number in the manufacturing districts at all adequate to the wants of the population?

"2nd. Are the Sunday schools efficient, as means primarily of religious instruction, and also as teaching the scholars to read with ease, and in many instances adding other branches of instruction on the week evenings?"

It is then at some length calculated that one-sixth of the population is (after deducting all contingencies) as large a proportion of the population as can be expected to attend Sunday schools. In London the proportion is about one in 20, in Westminster one in 34 of the population. How stands the case with reference to the manufacturing districts? He first quotes the commissioners:—

"That such is the neglect of the children and young persons, employed in trades and manufactures, that in some districts, out of the whole number of children employed in labour, scarcely more than one-half are receiving instruction either in day or in Sunday schools."

Then come the facts of the case.

"You will see from the returns, that in Yorkshire there are 145,282 Sunday scholars to a population of 770,265—being in the proportion of one scholar to 5½ of the population!"

"In Lancashire there are 208,924 Sunday scholars to a population of 1,207,495—being in the proportion of one scholar to every 5½ of the population!"

"I am sure, sir, you will be astonished with this result:—

"Proportion of Sunday scholars to population—

In Westminster 1 scholar to 34 inhabitants.
In all London 1 do. to 20 do.
In Yorkshire 1 do. to 5½ do.
In Lancashire 1 do. to 5½ do."

The second inquiry, as to their efficiency, the commissioners thus dismiss:—

"The teachers (of the Sunday schools) volunteer their meritorious efforts, which, however, are altogether unsystematic and feeble.

"That in all the districts great numbers of those children who had been in regular attendance on Sunday schools for a period of from five to nine years, were found, on examination, to be incapable of reading an easy book or spelling the commonest word; and they were not only altogether ignorant of Christian principles, doctrines, and precepts, but they knew nothing whatever of any of the events of scripture history, nor anything even of the names most commonly occurring in the scriptures."

But the tabular returns provide an answer to this.

"I inserted a column in the schedule for 'scholars who read in the Bible or Testament.' The answer to this in the returns is, that out of 363,544 Sunday scholars, 201,833 read in the scriptures, that is, 55½ per cent. of the whole number. And when you remember how very large a proportion of the entire juvenile population is in the Sunday schools, and consider how young many of them must be, the fact that 55½ per cent. are actually reading the scriptures will appear very satisfactory.

"But the Children's Employment commissioners say that 'the efforts of the teachers are altogether unsystematic and feeble.' If there were no other evidence to disprove this assertion than the petitions presented from the teachers, and the indignation expressed by them, against Sir James Graham's bill, that alone would be moral evidence of a very convincing nature.

"I by no means deny that there is much inequality among the teachers; but I speak from considerable personal knowledge of Sunday schools, with which it has been my privilege and pleasure to be connected for nearly five and twenty years, as teacher, secretary, and superintendent, when I say that there is among the teachers much intelligence, much steady perseverance, much earnest, humble piety—that the efforts of many

are at once systematic and vigorous—that many study their Bible, and prepare themselves to impart and enforce its truths to the scholars—and that many of them take a personal interest in the scholars, and visit them at their own houses.

"I may add that many of the Sunday schools have lending libraries of religious works; some have Sick societies; many teach writing and arithmetic on the week evenings; and many have select Bible classes, by means of which young persons are kept in the schools much longer than formerly."

DAY SCHOOLS.

Under this head, Mr Baines expected the largest deficiency, and at the same time the most incompleteness in the returns. The proportion that could reasonably be expected to attend these schools he calculated at one-ninth of the population.

"The returns show that in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, the number of day scholars is 193,523, for a population of 2,019,260—being more than one for every eleven of the population. But you will see from the note of the accountant who has compiled the returns, that he judges the returns of day scholars to be one-tenth below the actual number. If so, the actual number of day scholars will be as one in ten of the whole population. To me I confess this has been an agreeable surprise.

"When you find one in every ten of the population in day schools, and one in every five and two-thirds in Sunday schools, and churches and chapels that would hold nearly one-half of the entire population, I ask if this is a state of things to create a panic in parliament; or to justify either the conclusions of the Children's Employment commissioners, or the language of Lord Ashley, in speaking of these districts especially as a 'great and terrible wilderness,' peopled by 'untutored savages?'"

The summary of the returns for the various classes of schools furnishes the following result:—

"DAY SCHOOLS.

In Dame and Infant Schools	32,379 scholars.
In Private Schools	75,180 do.
In Factory Schools	6,366 do.
In Public (National, British, &c.) Schools	79,598 do.

Total

After a remark or two on the character and authenticity of the returns, in which he says, "I do not offer them as perfect, but I am sure they are honest; and they are in such minute details as to convince me there can be no serious error in them," Mr Baines thus sums up:—

"1st. That in these manufacturing districts there is church and chapel room for 44½ per cent. of the entire population; and, deducting the catholics, who fill their chapels several times in the day, the church and chapel room for protestants cannot fall greatly short of 50 per cent.

"2d. That that provision for the religious instruction of the community has been made, and is still supported, almost wholly by the voluntary zeal and liberality of the inhabitants—no less than 603,733 sittings in churches and chapels having been provided within the present century, of which only 62,493 are in parliamentary churches.

"3d. That the provision for religious instruction is far more abundant, in proportion to the population, now, than it was at the beginning of the century. Judging from the existing churches and chapels, the accommodation has been increased 223 per cent., whilst the population has only increased 123 per cent. But, allowing for the old places of worship rebuilt or abandoned, the increase in accommodation may be considered as 203 per cent.

"4th. That Sunday schools have been provided, and are supported and taught, by the voluntary zeal of the inhabitants, in which one in every five and two-thirds are enrolled on the books—which must include an immense proportion of the whole children of the working classes.

"5th. That 55½ per cent. of the children in Sunday schools are able to read, and are actually reading the holy scriptures.

"6th. That nearly sixty thousand teachers are gratuitously engaged in the benevolent and pious duty of Sunday school instruction.

"7th. That one in every ten of the population are taught in day schools, of whom only a small proportion in dame and factory schools.

"8th. That the proportions of the established church and other religious bodies, so far as the sittings in churches and chapels would indicate, are as follows, viz.:—Established church, 343,522 sittings; other religious denominations, 560,494; but probably the proportion actually attending the churches would be less than this, in comparison with the other sects.

"9th. That the proportions of Sunday scholars taught are as follow, viz.:—in the schools of the established church, 108,805; in the schools of all other denominations, 254,739.

"And now, sir, permit me to appeal to you if this is not a most gratifying, if it is not a splendid demonstration of the power of Christian principle—unconstrained by acts of parliament—self-assessed—without a murmur, without strife—pouring forth its hearty free-will offerings, for the glory of God and the well-being and salvation of men? And this is but a small part of what that Christian principle is doing. It is in a great variety of modes exerting itself for the reformation of the vicious, for the instruction of the ignorant, and for the relief of the helpless. By Christian Instruction societies, by Loan Tract societies, by District Visiting and Benevolent societies, by Town Missionaries, it explores the lowest haunts of vice and misery, adapts itself to every form of evil, insinuates its gentle influence where laws cannot gain admission, and melts hearts which terror cannot break."

CHURCH RATES.—At a meeting of the Hackney Anti-church-rate association on Monday week, the rector of the parish, the Rev. Thomas Oliver Goodchild, was unanimously elected an honorary member, "as an expression of the hearty approval of the association of his resistance to the payment of his own church rate, and its desire that the example, in this respect, of the reverend gentleman may be generally followed by his parishioners."

RUTHIN.—SEIZURE FOR CHURCH RATES.—On Monday last a seizure was made from the shop of Mr John Jones, grocer and confectioner, in the Market place, for a church rate of 8s. 6d. Mr Jones having refused payment, the law was called in to aid the church, and the amount claimed ran up to £1 5s., for which a ham and cheese were seized, and sold by public auction for £1 4s. 2d., leaving a balance, due either to the church or the law, of 10d. It is rumoured that they cannot agree as to which party is to suffer the loss. The latter, certainly the most liberal party, has offered, we are informed, to divide the difference, which would be the most fair method of settling the account, but the former, with its usual propensities, stands out for the whole.—*Carnarvon Herald*.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.—The *Gateshead Observer* says, that the committee of the Religious Freedom society of that town, have resolved to hold a public meeting in Newcastle, to consider the propriety of petitioning parliament for the separation of church and state; and a sub-committee was appointed, to make the necessary arrangements.

CARNARVON.—On Monday evening last a public meeting was held at Pendre chapel, in this town, to explain the nature of the union which exists between the church and the state, and to prepare the minds of the people to petition for their separation. The meeting was commenced with prayer, by Mr H. Hughes, of Llandegai. The Rev. W. Williams opened the proceedings, by explaining the nature of the kingdom of Christ as it is found in the New Testament. He said it was a spiritual kingdom, and that Christ and his apostles were maintained by voluntary subscriptions. He then followed the history of the Christian church to the days of Constantine the Great, when the church was first taken under the patronage of the state, and when it began to grow worldly, and to lose its spirituality. He explained the introduction of tithe laws on the continent of Europe, which took place in the eighth century, when Pepin obtained the consent of the Pope to dethrone Childeric, the king of France, and to become king himself, for which concurrence Pepin made large presents to the church, and, finally, made a law obliging all his subjects to give a tithe of their incomes to support the church throughout his dominions. This, he observed, was the origin of civil laws for the support of the church. He then went over the history of the introduction of tithes into this country, in the time of Offa, the king of that portion which was designated Mercia. Offa, he stated, had a daughter, who was espoused by Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, but that when the latter went to receive his bride, Offa, instead of giving him his daughter, killed him in a savage manner at the banquet. After committing this diabolical crime, Offa fled to Rome, and appeared penitent before the Pope; on which his holiness absolved him, and, in return, Offa engaged to pay a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome; and in order to raise the sum, he imposed a tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a-year; this, Mr W. said, was the origin of Peter-pence. Offa also made a law, granting a tithe of his territory to the church, which was the first tithe law in England. The rev. gentleman then went through the history of the tithes in the time of Henry the Eighth, when the established church was changed from being a popish to a protestant one, and concluded an eloquent speech by asserting the right of every man to judge for himself, inasmuch as every one is responsible to his Maker alone. Mr H. Hughes (Tregai) pressed the facts, which had been brought forward by the preceding speaker, upon the attention of the meeting, and concluded from them, that the history of all established churches showed them to be quite opposed to the New Testament, and to the spirit of the Christian dispensation. He called the attention of the meeting to the state of the borders of Wales, where the established church had been founded for hundreds of years, and yet people were found there who knew nothing of such a person as Jesus Christ. He ridiculed the word toleration, and said, if a man had a right to tolerate his fellow-man to worship God, that he had a right as well to tolerate God to receive such worship. Mr Walter Griffith said, that he was glad to see such a step taken, because it struck at the root of the evil; if they succeeded in defeating the Factory bill, they would yet have other grievances as long as an established church should exist. He asked who could say what religion was right, when the state patronised so many different forms in different parts of the empire; and he showed how the property of the nation was abused by the church, and how little the clergy were doing compared with the voluntary efforts of dissenters; and concluded by expressing his thanks to Sir J. Graham for bringing his education bill forward, for he (Mr G.) really believed that it had roused such a spirit in the nonconformists as would never be put down until every sect should be equal. Mr W. P. Williams said, that he also rejoiced in the object of the meeting, and that dissenters ought never to rest until religion should be free. He compared the doings of the voluntary and compulsory system, to prove the great superiority of the former; and rejoiced that the most pious, most learned, and most influential ministers in Scotland had seceded from the establishment. Good men would not live in the church while it was trammelled by worldly laws. Mr W. then showed how opposed to Christianity was the system of patronage, leaving spiritual things in the hands of men utterly unworthy. Mr Jones, from Manchester, made a few brief remarks, and concluded the meeting with prayer. We believe this was the first meeting held in the principality for the express purpose of petitioning the legislature for the separation of church

and state; and we understand it to be the first of a series of similar meetings intended to be held in this town.—*Carnarvon Herald*.

MIDLAND BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.—The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the ministers and messengers of the Midland Baptist association, at their annual meeting, held at Stourbridge on the 6th and 7th of June, 1843. As they have respect to a very important and interesting public matter—we insert them at length:—

"That this association has heard with sincere pleasure of the secession from the established church of Scotland, of upwards of 400 of its most pious, talented, devoted ministers, and a large and influential body of the flower of her laity, and hail it as indicative of the advance of correct views in relation to the kingdom of our divine Lord and Master.

"That we hereby record our gratitude to God for this timely interposition on behalf of the royal prerogative of Jesus as sole Lord over conscience; our admiration and cordial approval of the noble stand taken by these honoured brethren, in making such great sacrifices to maintain their integrity and retain their principles; and we would offer our united and earnest prayer to the great Head of the church for a copious outpouring of the Holy Spirit on this influential section of the Christian church, to increase its light, comfort, and usefulness.

"That the Rev. Thomas Morgan be respectfully solicited to write a letter, communicating these resolutions to the Moderator of the seceding body, expressive of our sympathy with them, and tending to encourage them in their arduous and trying circumstances."

At the same meeting the following petition to the house of Commons was agreed upon against the educational scheme of Sir James Graham, in which it will be perceived that the association views the unhalloved and antisciptural connexion of the church and state to be the cause of many and great evils:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled:

"The humble petition of the ministers and messengers of the several churches constituting the Midland Baptist association, convened at Stourbridge, Worcester-shire,

Sheweth—

"That your petitioners are convinced that the Factories Education bill, recently introduced into the house of Commons by Sir James Graham, even in its amended form, is in its principle unsound and unjust, and will, in its operation, prove sectarian and tyrannical.

"That your petitioners consider this as merely one of the legitimate fruits of the connexion of church and state, which continues to be the fatal source of the greatest evils to both.

"Your petitioners, therefore, pray that this obnoxious bill may not pass into law.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

"Signed in the name, and on behalf of, the Midland Baptist association.

"THOMAS HARWOOD MORGAN, Moderator."

PUSEYISM GONE MAD.—A ludicrous scene occurred last week at a village on the confines of Hiraethog Mountain, Denbighshire. It was a quarrel between the parson, who is a rabid Puseyite, and an old testy farmer. The latter had presented to him, by his landlord, a Cheviot ram, with an extraordinary fine pair of horns. When the ram had been sheared, previous to being turned to his walk, the farmer fastened a bell to his neck, and, as the usual body mark of his sheep, put two crosses with red ruddle (Mwn Coch) on his rump. The sight of the two crosses, and the sound of the bell, excited the holy ire of the parson, and induced him to make use of several harsh expressions, and to charge the farmer with impiety, and with an intention to bring the church into disgrace. The Welsh mountaineer's cholera was instantly roused, and but for the intervention of the lookers-on, his reverence would have been very irreverently dealt with. It seems that the clergyman had previously denounced the marking of sheep with a cross as a piece of impiety, and the appearance of two crosses at one end of the finely horned ram, and the bell at the other, was considered as a burlesque upon the Llanrwst new church.—*Carnarvon Herald*.

PUSEYISM IN FALMOUTH.—A public meeting was held on Friday evening, in the Town hall, on the requisition of several inhabitants of Falmouth, when it was unanimously resolved that a memorial should be presented to the Rector of Falmouth, and the Bishop of Exeter, praying that the services of the church should be performed in the same manner as in the time of the late Rev. Mr Matthias.

DR PUSEY'S SERMON.—The publication of Dr Pusey's sermon is postponed till Thursday next. The strongest solicitations have been addressed to him, pressing him to retrace his steps, and to suppress it altogether. It is felt that its publication will involve the heads of the church in much difficulty. [So far our correspondent. We confess that we can see no difficulty in the matter; the tractarians must be cut off from the church, and the sooner the more easily.]—*Standard*.

THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN IRELAND.—Mr Roche, the member for the county of Cork, addressing a meeting of upwards of 300,000, thus spoke of this establishment:—

"When the liberator is speaker of the Irish house of Commons, the first question that I will move will be the appropriation of the property of the Irish church to its legitimate objects."

At the dinner which followed, he thus stated the grievances for which he sought to obtain redress:—

"I stated to you before, that the first and greatest of our grievances is the church. It puts itself forward as a kind of show monster, when we seek for any measure of good for Ireland. If we ask for corporate reform, Lord Lyndhurst answers 'No,' for that would enable us to destroy the interests of the church. If we ask for an extension of the franchise, we are refused on the ground that extension would place in our hands the power of wiping away the abuse altogether. * * * Join with me first in removing three great evils, namely the church system, the narrowing of the franchise, and the inadequacy of the representation, and then I shall be ready to treat how far the independence of the Irish parliament is to go."

This speech (says the *Sun*) affords matter for serious reflection; this is not from the lips of O'Connell, it is from the lips of the member for the largest county in Ireland, a man deeply interested by property in the welfare of Ireland; and, still more so, it is true to the very letter. The Irish church is a church of not a million protestants, ruling over more than seven millions of catholics. It is the richest church in Europe, established in the poorest country—the most intolerant church, planted among the largest population dissenting from its doctrines—the church that rails most, where railing is most injurious—that teaches least, where teaching is most required. Dr Johnson termed it in his day, "the greatest ecclesiastical abuse in Europe;" and how much more does it now deserve that title; for, whilst in his time the proportion of protestants to catholics in Ireland was one to three, it is not more now than one to seven. In 1766 the total population of Ireland was 1,871,725; the number of protestants, 544,865. In 1834 the total population was 7,943,940; the number of protestants, 752,972. At the present moment the proportion of protestants is less than in 1834, and yet there is an Irish church establishment, like the table of Dives, charged upon the rags of Lazarus—Lazarus, a believer in another creed, and a worshipper in another temple. To maintain the Irish church establishment is not in the power of man to effect, except at a price that Englishmen will not consent to pay. It can only be maintained at the point of the bayonet. Can it be maintained even then? God forbid that the attempt should be made, but church bigots have always preferred—

'Wars of faith to works of love;'

and we fear that Orange bigotry is now, as ever, confident and overbearing.

THE FACTORIES BILL.—A few days ago a petition was presented against the educational clauses of the Factories bill, from various ministers and deputies of the congregations of protestant dissenters of the three denominations in the county of Suffolk, assembled at Stowmarket, which says, that "if passed into law, it would compel many, like our ancestors, peacefully to suffer rather than obey." This sentiment proves the beneficial effects of this recent attack on the liberties of dissenters, in awakening them to a just estimate of their real position, and their utter insecurity from further aggressions of a like nature as long as a state church exists. Now that Sir James Graham's bill has been withdrawn, it is to be hoped that the same spirit of determined opposition will be manifested against the connexion of church and state—an evil that has produced, and is producing, more disastrous effects upon the interests of freedom and Christianity, than any isolated attacks upon distinctive privileges of nonconformity.

THE SOURCES OF OUR STRENGTH.—By the Divine benediction, the *Patriot* has been rendered instrumental in constraining her Majesty's ministers to relinquish their insidious scheme for transferring the youth of our land to the exclusive care of the established clergy. We sounded the alarm; we detected the brood of mischiefs which lay concealed amid the verbiage of the defunct bill; we inoculated the public mind with a salutary dread of the threatened thralldom; the consequence has been, an intelligent and universal apprehension of the impending danger, and a firm, united, and persevering resistance, before which, though with agonising reluctance, the conspirators have at length been compelled to give way.—*Patriot*.—[Pretty modest!]

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

THE FREE CHURCH.—The following is a copy of a circular being circulated by the friends of the Free church in London:—

"3, Exeter hall, June 19, 1842.

"DEAR SIR—A public meeting of the friends of the 'Free church of Scotland' will be held in Exeter hall, on Wednesday, the 28th instant, for the purpose of receiving a deputation of ministers and elders, and in order to adopt measures for aiding that church in its efforts to diffuse the gospel in Scotland. Besides the statements which the deputation will lay before the meeting, it is expected that several distinguished ministers and laymen of this metropolis will take part in the proceedings.

"For the last nine years the church of Scotland has maintained an earnest struggle for the liberties of her Christian people, and the spiritual independence of her own church courts. Finding themselves defeated in this contest, when the supreme legislature of the country refused to restrain the encroachments of the civil tribunals, or to ratify that negative voice in the appointment of their pastors which the General Assembly had conceded to the communicants in the several parishes, many ministers felt that they could no longer conscientiously remain in an establishment which withheld from people and pastors alike the privileges secured to them by the word of God. Accordingly, since the 18th of May, nearly 500 clergymen have renounced the benefits of the ecclesiastical endowment in Scotland, and gone to seek for themselves and their people that freedom without the establishment which is no longer to be found within. The movement has, in the meanwhile, been accompanied by a prodigious amount of privation, and many ministers, with their families and flocks, have in prospect a succession of painful trials; but these are counterbalanced by the testimony of a good conscience, the almost unanimous sympathy of the Christian community, and many visible tokens of the divine approbation.

"The ministers of the free church include nearly the whole of those who have heretofore been accounted the strength and the ornament of the Scottish establishment; and from the blessing which has hitherto attended their labours the utmost anxiety is shown to retain to the country the benefit of their continued ministrations. The people have come forward with a liberality altogether unprecedented, and by their own exertions, as yet unaided from without, have raised a large amount of contributions. But, in order to defray the cost of the cheapest fabrics which can be reared, and to sustain the ministry in that measure of comfort essential to the undistracted prosecution of its labours, great efforts must

yet be made. And when it is remembered that in their act of abdication these ministers laid on the altar property to the value of a hundred thousand pounds a year, and took joyfully this spoiling of their goods; the London committee believe that in soliciting the contributions of their friends, they only invite them to participate in one of the noblest of recent testimonies for the truth as it is in Jesus.

"Should your engagements admit of your attending the public meeting in Exeter hall, your presence and countenance are earnestly solicited. The committee would seek their apology for thus encroaching on your leisure in the fact that the present movement involves principles to which no Christian, and no church of Christ, can be indifferent, and which the progress of events may soon render painfully and personally interesting to all.

"We remain, dear sir, yours respectfully,
P. M. STEWART, chairman of the committee.
JAMES NISBET, 21, Berners street, treasurer.
JAMES C. BURNS, } Honorary
JAMES HAMILTON, } Secretaries."

THE PRESBYTERY OF LONDON.—It will be seen from the subjoined document, that a portion of the non-intrusionists in the London presbytery have publicly disavowed themselves from the Scotch establishment.

"At Woolwich, the 13th of June, 1843.
"WHEREAS the Scottish presbytery in London, in connexion with the established church of Scotland, having met to-day, in the new Scotch church in this place; and whereas, in the course of the said presbytery making certain presbyterial arrangements for the induction of the Rev. James Ferguson into the pastoral charge of the new Scotch congregation in Goodman's fields, several members of presbytery (publicly announcing their fixed determination not only to adhere no longer to the established church of Scotland, but to refuse inducting Mr Ferguson into any ministerial connexion with that church, in terms of her authorised formula relative to the settlement of ministers) proposed a motion, declaring that that portion of this presbytery's immemorial designation, to wit, 'in connexion with the established church of Scotland,' shall henceforth be renounced, discontinued, and annulled: And whereas, on the moderator (the Rev. Samuel Blair, of Dudley) having intimated his resolution not to entertain, or recognise, or put to the vote, any motion so revolutionary, unconstitutional, and incompetent (of which motion, moreover, no previous notice had been given), the said dissentient members did, upon the spot, violently and illegally, by a pretended vote, not participated in by the constitutional members of presbytery, declare that the said moderator should no longer hold his office, and did appoint the Rev. Peter Lorimer to seize possession of the same: Therefore, the said Rev. Samuel Blair, moderator of this presbytery, acting with the concurrence of such members thereof as resolve to maintain inviolate their connexion with the established church of Scotland, formally adjourned the said meeting of presbytery, and concluded the diet by pronouncing the apostolic benediction. Whereupon all the members then present, adhering to their said ecclesiastical connexion, to wit, the Rev. Dr Brown, of Swallow street; the Rev. John Cumming, of Crown court; the Rev. Samuel Blair, of Dudley; the Rev. Alex. McGlashan, of St Andrew's Scotch church, together with the ruling elders from Swallow street, from Crown court, and from St Andrew's kirk sessions (the absent elder from Dudley concurring), immediately withdrew from the scene of the forementioned irregularities, and at a convenient place in this town did forthwith resume procedure as 'the Scottish presbytery in London in connexion with the established church of Scotland,' the moderator thereof in the chair."

ATTENDANCE AT THE ESTABLISHED CHURCHES, SCOTLAND.—By the accounts we receive from all directions, the attendance on the parish churches, particularly those abandoned by their ministers, continues to be of the most meagre description. At Dunoon, for instance, last Sabbath, while the retiring minister, Mr McKay, was preaching to a crowded congregation in his new church, the parish church was attended by only 300 persons, including the children. In St George's of this town, a house calculated to hold nearly 2,000, only 270 persons were in attendance when it was at the throngest; and in the High church, the miserable appearance of the remnant of adherents scattered over that extensive building looked even still worse. On Sunday last, every possible effort had been set on foot to "make a show," as they expressed it, in the High church. Amongst others, the defenders of patronage went so far as to exercise the veto they condemn, by setting aside the appointment of our townsman, Mr Thompson, which had been made by the presbytery, and getting in his place Mr Stewart, of Elderslie, who, to help the "show" up, was accompanied by a number of his hearers from that quarter. Another part of the display was a party of the "remnant" agreeing to take possession of the magistrates' seat; but the misfortune was, only three persons could be found who would be party to the usurpation, and, accordingly, when the show was at its best, there was the ample gallery of this large edifice with three solitary gentlemen stuck up in the magistrates' seat, about as many in the different front seats round, and, to complete the ludicrous picture, one or two individuals, like crows in the mist, scattered in the various tyres of large seats behind. This was the "show" in the High church. From every direction we learn that the same uniform exertions are made by the "remnant" to bring up attendants to the state church worship. Everybody is welcome; servants, dependants, and every description of hangers-on, are mustered into a regiment of camp followers, which, in the present emergency, passes muster as the *bona fide* rank-and-file corps of the establishment.—*Glasgow Saturday Post*.

CLERICAL INTOLERANCE IN EDINBURGH.—We hear much of the mild temper displayed towards their opponents by those ministers who remain in the establishment. The following statement, however, will show that much of this is mere grimace, and that they can be as intolerant as ever when they think they may use their power with impunity. The sufferers in the present instance were two female teachers in Dr Muir's school, St Stephen's parish. They were engaged a few years ago, and their conduct since has repeatedly been the theme of the rev. doctor's praise. Acting upon their conscientious convictions, however, they have recently left the established church. This was, of course, reckoned an unpardonable offence by the minister and members of session, and several attempts were made to induce the ladies to resign their situations. This they declined to do, alleging that they had done nothing inconsistent

with the regulations of the school. Baffled in this attempt, the rev. doctor, a few days ago, summarily dismissed them. The manner of his doing so, if the report generally current be correct, is quite in keeping with the rest of his conduct. He protested in the strongest terms the grief which he felt in being the instrument in their dismissal; and assured them he could sincerely use the language of our Saviour in reference to it, and say, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" and then crowned the whole by joining with his victims in prayer. Truly, if this be correct, Dr Muir has studied to some purpose the workings of the inquisition. It is gratifying to add, however, that a number of gentlemen, indignant at the treatment these ladies have received, are about to establish them in a new school near the scene of their former labours.—*Scotsman*.

MORE SECEDERS.—It is rumoured that, in consequence of Lord Aberdeen's bill, the Rev. Dr Brown of Langton, the Rev. Mr Moncrieff of Kilbride, and some others of the middle men, have either left, or are resolved immediately to leave, the establishment.—*Scotsman*.

The proposed *soirée* of dissenters, which was to have been held at Edinburgh in reference to the late rupture in the church of Scotland, has been indefinitely postponed.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Agricultural produce, for protection to, 1.
Arms (Ireland) bill, against, 2.
Cooper and others, for mitigation of treatment, 15.
Corn laws, for repeal of, 65.
Coroners bill, in favour of, 30.
County courts bill, for amendment of, 1.
Drainage of Lands bill, in favour of, 2.
Ecclesiastical Courts bill, against, 1.
Education (Ireland) by the church, for, 9.
—against further grant, 5.
Factories bill, against, 3052.
—in favour of, 28.
Health of Towns bill, for alteration of, 2.
—in favour of, 1.
King of Hanover, for withdrawal of pension from, 1.
Maynooth college, against further grant to, 11.
Mines and Collieries act, for repeal of, 1.
Poor Law Amendment act, for alteration of, 1.
Poor Relief (Ireland) act, for repeal of, 5.
Post office, for further reform of, 12.
Property Tax act, for repeal of, 1.
Roman Catholic Relief act, for repeal of, 1.
St Asaph and Bangor dioceses, against union of, 1.
Scientific Societies bill, in favour of, 21.
Seinde, against its annexation to British India, 1.
Tenure of land (Ireland), for alteration of, 1.
Turnpike Roads bill, against, 12.
Union with Ireland, for repeal of, 5.
—against repeal of, 2.
—for suppressing agitation for repeal of, 4.
Waste Land Allotment bill, in favour of, 4.
Wheat, &c., (Canada) bill, against, 1.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

1. Sugar Duties bill.
2. Commons' Inclosure bill.
3. Princess Augusta's Annuity bill.
4. Municipal Corporations bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Coroners bill.
2. Grand Jury Presentments (Ireland) bill.
3. Princess Augusta's Annuity bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

Princess Augusta's Annuity bill.—"That an annuity of three thousand pounds be settled upon her royal highness the Princess Augusta Caroline, eldest daughter of his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, upon her marriage to his royal highness Frederick, hereditary grand duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, the same to take effect from the decease of his said royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, and to be charged upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" amendment proposed, to leave out from the words "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words, "the ample allowance from the public revenue which has been so long enjoyed by his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, should have enabled him to make provision for his children; and that it is neither wise nor just, especially in the present distressed state of the country, and deplorable destitution of the labouring classes, to propose any grant for a dowry to the Princess Augusta Caroline of Cambridge,"—(Mr Hume)—instead thereof. Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question:" the Committee divided; ayes 223, noes 57. Main question put and agreed to.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME AND PASSED.

1. Roman Catholic Oaths (Ireland) bill.
2. Assessed Taxes, &c., bill.
3. Copyhold and Customary Tenure bill.
4. Church Endowment bill.
5. Wheat, &c., (Canada) bill.

MOTIONS.

Arms (Ireland) bill.—Question put, "That Mr Speaker do now leave the chair:" amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words, "it be referred to a select committee to inquire and report how far it is just and politic any longer to restrict the Irish people from the free exercise of their admitted constitutional right to bear arms"—(Mr Wyse)—instead thereof. Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question:" the House divided; ayes 276, noes 122.

Foreign grain.—Motion made and question proposed "That this House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the laws relating to the importation of foreign grain"—(Lord John Russell)—the House divided; ayes 145, noes 244.

DEBATES.

Wednesday, June 14th, 1843.

ANNUITY TO THE PRINCESS AUGUSTA.

On the proposed annuity of £3000 a year to the Princess Augusta of Cambridge being moved in committee,

Mr HUME opposed the grant. He meant to throw no reflection upon the royal duke, but rather upon her Majesty's ministers. He admitted that the sons of the sovereign ought to be provided for by the nation, because, as they were always created peers, it was fit that they should be placed in a situation to do their duty in the legislature in a manner independent of ministers. Parliament had sanctioned a

further step, that of a provision upon the marriages of those illustrious persons; and such a provision, amounting to £6000 a year, had been made on the marriage of the Duke of Cambridge. He denied that there was any principle or precedent upon which the country was called upon to support the children of royal dukes. If there were, it might extend as fairly to their grandchildren; and what was the limit to which these grants might not extend? He asked why should the children of the Duke of Cambridge be treated differently from those of the Duke of Sussex; and with reference to the grant immediately under consideration, referred to a grant of £2000 a year which was already enjoyed by a relation of the Prince of Strelitz, under an Irish act of parliament of 38 George III., under which he calculated that £335,000 had been paid to that personage.

His Serene Highness had received this £2000 for forty-five years. In 1789 we were in debt £100,000,000. Every £2000 paid to his Serene Highness had been borrowed at the rate of 5 per cent., and had paid interest at that rate from that time to the present. Therefore the cost to the country of this pension would, at compound interest, come to £335,000. That was the way the debts of England had been contracted—that was the way the country was sacrificed [loud cries of "Hear, hear"]. These acts were more calculated to render the royal family obnoxious to the country than anything else. What would have been thought of any individual who had risen in that house, and said he proposed to give £335,000 to the nephew of Queen Charlotte, or the nephew of anybody [laughter]? Well, that was the cost of the pension, and it might continue for many years more; it might cost £50,000, £60,000, or £100,000 more. The House was now called on to grant the daughter of the Duke of Cambridge £3000 a year. Her father might live, and he might not live, for many years. The princess would, in all probability, live for forty-five years, judging from the long life of all the family [laughter]. She might live much longer [laughter]. If she received the £3000 a year for forty-five years, the cost to the country—every shilling being borrowed, mind—would be upwards of £500,000 at five per cent. [loud cries of "Oh, oh," and laughter].

He then referred to the opposition he had to encounter from the ministerial benches—

He was undertaking an unpleasant duty in opposing the grant, but he felt it must be undertaken [loud cries of "Hear, hear"]. If he was not allowed to proceed, he should move that the chairman report progress [hear, hear]. If he had any unfair interruption, he should name the individuals; he saw the men who did it [interruption]. Ay, there was a new class grown up in the house, called "Young England" [loud laughter]. They were known, not by white waistcoats and white neckcloths alone, but by other characteristics [laughter]. Now, this being the case [the rest of the sentence was drowned in bursts of laughter]. He did say that, in all fairness, if he was running counter to the opinions of "Young England," or any other body, they ought nevertheless to let him have a hearing; and then let them state their opinions.

Were the members of the two Houses prepared to pay this money out of their own pockets? If not, let them consider the state of the people out of whose pockets it was to come. The Duke of Cambridge might be presumed to be a rich man; he had enjoyed many advantages in addition to his allowance from parliament, particularly the revenues of Hanover and several military appointments.

It was now proposed to provide for one of the Duke of Cambridge's children; but after the ample allowances which he had received from the country—after having been eighteen or nineteen years Viceroy of Hanover with an ample salary to keep him in proper state, his income during that term exceeding £30,000 a year, the principle of the section to which he had referred in the act of 1834 warranted him (Mr Hume) in calling upon the House not to grant this £3,000 a year until they had a written declaration from the Duke of Cambridge that he was unable to provide for his family. He had received various large allowances, he was in receipt of an income of £27,000 a year from the country, and he ought to be in a condition to provide for his own family; if he was not, the people of England were not in a condition to supply his wants [hear].

He would look at the present state of the civil list.

If her Majesty were properly advised and adopted the recommendation of the committee who revised the civil list, she would have enough, if she pleased, to provide for all the Duke of Cambridge's family, giving £3,000 a year to each. He found that the Duke of Cambridge received £27,000 a year; the Duchess of Gloucester, £16,000; Princess Sophia, £16,000; Princess Sophia of Gloucester, £7,000; Queen Adelaide, £100,000; the Duchess of Kent, £30,000; Prince Albert, £30,000; and King Leopold, £50,000; though he was bound to say, that the latter illustrious person did not touch one farthing of that allowance [hear, hear]. He was anxious to state that, on account of various misrepresentations having been made on the subject. Up to the year 1840, £35,000 of that allowance was repaid, and not 1s. touched the pockets of King Leopold [hear, hear].

Was it intended to make similar provisions for the other two children of the royal duke? or what was the principle the government meant to act upon? He moved a resolution purporting that the ample allowances received by the Duke of Cambridge from the public ought to have enabled him to provide for his children, and that in the present state of the country it was not wise or just to make this a grant from the public money.

Mr LIDDELL, amidst general symptoms of impatience, protested against the amendment.

Sir R. H. INGLIS opposed the amendment, and contended that the proposed grant to the Princess Augusta was not worth one-tenth part of the sum Mr Hume had calculated.

Mr F. BARING suggested that the grant to the Princess Augusta should not take effect till the decease of the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, who at present enjoyed a pension from this country.

Colonel WOOD contended that the grant proposed fell far below the deserts of the Duke of Cambridge, whose name was at the head of all the charities in this country, and who never refused to preside at dinners for charitable purposes.

Mr WARD thought the Duke of Cambridge should provide for his own daughter's marriage, as any other nobleman or gentleman did. Considering the distressed state of the country, he put it to the House whether it was fit thus to add to the tinsel of royalty.

Sir R. PEEL urged that the Duke of Cambridge, though he had undoubtedly received a large income, had to transmit a dukedom to his successor, with the means of keeping up its dignity. The proposed grant was not to take effect till the death of the Duke of Cambridge. Mr Hume having disputed the right, on the ground of precedent, for such a vote, he would remind the House that all the daughters of George III. were allowed £16,000 a year, and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, who was not so nearly allied

to her Majesty as the Princess Augusta, received £7,000 a year. The grant to the Duke of Strelitz, already existing, was made in consequence of territorial sacrifices to which he had had to submit during the French revolution. He abstained from entering into details of calculation, but he thought that the House, with all regard to the distressing circumstances of the country, would be fully justified in making such a grant as that which he proposed.

On a division, the motion was carried by 223 against 57.

Thursday, June 15th.

ANNUITY TO THE PRINCESS AUGUSTA.

On the motion for bringing up the report of the resolutions upon the Queen's message respecting the Princess Augusta of Cambridge,

Mr HUME said, that having been so slenderly supported on the preceding day, he would not now give the House the trouble of another division.

Mr WILLIAMS (Coventry) expressed his disapprobation of grants to members of the royal family. He controverted the inferences drawn on the preceding day by Sir R. Inglis from the commutation of the Crown's hereditary revenue.

Sir R. INGLIS vindicated his own statement.

Lord DUNGANNON regretted that a measure at once so just and so moderate should be thus pertinaciously opposed.

The resolutions were then agreed to, and leave given to bring in a bill founded upon them.

CANADA FLOUR BILL.

Lord STANLEY moved the third reading of this bill.

Colonel SMITHOPPE opposed it. He thought the Colonial Secretary ought not to have given a pledge to the Canadas upon such a subject, without the previous authority of Parliament. He moved, as an amendment, the third reading on that day six months.

Mr HUME took this opportunity to express his regret at the death of Sir C. Bagot, who, as Governor of the Canadas, had entitled himself to the public gratitude.

Some questions and explanations passed between Mr BARING and Mr GLADSTONE; after which

Mr LABOUCHERE desired that before this measure should be disposed of a clear understanding should be given whether the Ministers stood pledged to the landed interest that this measure should not be extended to the other colonies of British North America. To the principle of pledges he was strongly opposed.

Lord STANLEY, observing upon the inconsistency of the right hon. gentleman's question with the principle professed by him, declined to pledge the Government any further than by declaring that the measure was not considered by them as having given to the other colonies any claim to a similar change of duties. He did not think their circumstances were such as to require it; and he was averse from any alteration of the established law upon any light grounds.

The House then divided—

For the third reading.....	150
Against it	75

Majority for it..... 75

The bill then passed.

ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.

The motion that the Speaker should leave the chair, for the resumption of the committee on the Irish Arms bill, was opposed by

Mr WYSE, who asserted the constitutional right of the people to possess arms for their defence. The acquiescence of members in similar bills, when proposed in former parliaments, was not a bar to their opposition now, still less an argument against the Irish people. Even if there were need for this measure in one part of Ireland, there was no reason for extending it to the whole kingdom. Lord Eliot seemed to regard it as an ordinary measure, while the Irish Attorney-general spoke of it as a precaution against some deep-seated danger. But if the danger did really exist—if the Irish people had the views imputed to them—a few privateers, running along the coast, could speedily provide them with more arms than ten years of registration could control. He moved as an amendment that it should be referred to a committee to inquire into the fitness of continuing the laws respecting arms in Ireland.

Mr BLEWETT seconded the motion. He protested against a policy, the effect of which must be to disgust a generous and high-spirited people.

Lord ELIOT thought this was not a fit occasion for entering into the general policy of the Irish government. At a proper time he would defend that policy, and take his full share in the responsibility of it. He could hardly have believed, if he had not just verified the fact by reference to the red-book, that Mr Wyse, the mover of this amendment, had been a lord of the treasury in 1841, when the measure he had now denounced was continued by the late administration.

Mr WARD said it was one thing to support, as he had done, an arms bill under a ministry who were daily proceeding to redress the evils of Ireland; it was another to support such a bill under a ministry who produced that bill as their only Irish measure. How was it that, with a good disposition towards Ireland in the head of government, and with a good selection of his representative in the Irish secretary, affairs were in their present state? The cause of the mischief would be found in the connexion of ministers with an unpopular party and an unpopular church. He condemned as strongly as any man the exciting language of Mr O'Connell about the difference of the Celtic and the Saxon races; such language was a step back to barbarism; and Mr O'Connell's plea was, that he had not been the first to start that topic. The subject of fixity of tenure was a delicate one; but on that point Mr O'Connell had

used no unjustifiable language. Then there was the question of the protestant church:—

Another grievance, and there was no use in mincing the matter, was, the established church in Ireland (hear, hear). The bills of 1835 and 1836, introduced by the noble lord near him (Lord J. Russell)—bills which had the concurrence of a great portion of the Irish members, would have then given satisfaction, though it was more than probable that they would not do so now. The appropriation clause was bought off at the price of 25 per cent. Sacrifice the other three-fourths of the tithes, and you will tranquillise Ireland (loud ironical cheers from the ministerial benches, echoed from the opposition). That was his decided opinion. He was perfectly satisfied that it would be impossible at the same time to uphold the established church in Ireland and to maintain the union (cheers, and counter cheers). The tithe fund, however, though it would never satisfy the people to shift it from the tenant to the landlord, might be preserved for religious purposes and distributed equally amongst the working clergy of all denominations, but the bishops and archbishops must be got rid of (cheers and counter cheers). He did not hesitate to utter this opinion. He dared to say that which he was aware many who heard him thought (hear, hear). What did their own leader [Sir R. Peel] say in 1817?

He was persuaded that its title could only be preserved to religious uses by a proportionate division of it among the clergy of all denominations, without any attempt to preserve the protestant establishment, or its bishop or archbishops.

The attorney-general for Ireland referred to the almost unanimous consent which had been given to the Arms bill only two years ago. He insisted on the frequency in Ireland of the offences usually committed with fire-arms. Adverting to a subject just mentioned, the fixity of tenure, he stated that a measure relating to it had been introduced into the house in the time of the late administration, but had died away for want of the countenance of the whig government.

Mr PIGOTT (attorney-general in the last administration) denied that this bill was a mere continuation of previous enactments. He gave a short history of the successive acts on this subject; and argued that they were passed under circumstances and with qualifications which were not found at the present time and in the present bill; insisting particularly on the requisition in those former acts that the functions committed to the magistrates should be exercised by them personally, and by two of them acting in conjunction; whereas this bill gave the powers of the law to a single magistrate, and permitted him, instead of making personal search, to delegate the authority to inferior agents, from whom the people could much less easily brook the intrusion.

Captain BERNAL was of opinion that the government had produced no sufficient evidence for the bill. He quoted some liberal passages from speeches of Lord Stanley in 1831, as inconsistent with that minister's concurrence in the severe measure brought before the House.

Mr BORTHWICK, in allusion to the plea set up by Mr O'Connell for his harangues about separate races, read from the debates of the house of Lords an explanation given by Lord Lyndhurst of a passage in one of his speeches, in which, with reference to the Irish, he had used the word "alien."

Mr HUME said, that the way to make the Irish peaceable was to treat them like British subjects. Where there was a viceroy, the people under him would always think themselves treated as an inferior race, and at all events others would always deem them so. It was an affront to the Irish to say that they could not be trusted with arms for their own defence; and the effect of such a deprivation was to leave good men at the mercy of bad ones. For himself, he had always opposed these acts, so often renewed; and therefore he was not open to the taunt justly directed against the whigs, who had repeatedly continued them. The Irish were not now to be treated as heretofore; they had become a sober, and would soon be a thinking people. But there would be no peace in Ireland till the grievance of the church establishment should be redressed.

The giant grievance of Ireland was the church ascendancy. Twenty years before he had ventured to lay before the House a statement of that grievance, and he would now state, as the result of twenty years' experience, that he was satisfied there would be no peace in Ireland until that grievance was redressed (hear, hear). Were he an Irishman, he never would be satisfied until that was effected. In proportion to the protestants of that country an establishment should be kept up and should be liberally paid, but let them look to the insecure church there. For the service of 1,000,000 more than ten times the amount was paid than for the service of 7,000,000.

Lord DUNGANNON thought the cause of mischief in Ireland perfectly obvious: it was the excitement of ignorant multitudes by mischievous demagogues. He was glad, however, that the enemies of the church had spoken out openly.

Mr ROSS opposed the bill, though he regarded it as folly to talk about a repeal of the union, or about differences between Celts and Saxons. Beside the evils already mentioned, there was in Ireland this also, that the representative system was in rapid progress of extinction, from the refusal of the landlords to grant leases.

Lord HOWICK was not inclined to introduce additional severities into the existing law, and wished that the government had been content to propose a mere renewal of it in its present state. However, he would not support the proposal for a select committee, which he thought came too late in this stage of the bill.

The debate was then adjourned.

Friday, June 16th.

ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.

The adjourned debate on the Irish Arms bill was resumed by

Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD, who traced the discontent of the tenantry to their treatment by the landlords, and pressed on the government the importance of undertaking some remedy for their wrongs and sufferings.

Mr LEPROY defended the Irish landlords, and expressed his regret that they should be made the subject of constant attack.

Mr BARING WALL was satisfied that if the government would announce its intention of governing Ireland on conciliatory instead of coercive measures, it would do more to repress agitation than anything they could attempt. He highly disapproved of the present bill, which was inopportune and injudicious.

Mr PHILIP HOWARD, viewing the bill as unconstitutional, could not support it. He hoped it would be referred to a select committee, in order to be remodeled.

After a few words from Mr V. STUART,

Mr REDINGTON considered the present state of Ireland to be due to the policy of the present government. If laws were passed for the benefit of landlords, they should also do something towards teaching the landlords what were their duties.

Mr ESCOTT believed that the real cause of the present state of Ireland, as compared with what it was under the whigs, arose from the fact that the present government did not choose to place the patronage of that country at the disposal of Mr O'Connell.

Mr Sergeant MURPHY contended that the discontent of the Irish people arose from a conviction of real and substantial wrongs. Coupled with the fact of the dismissal of magistrates in whom the people had confidence, the probability was, that the present bill would tend to arm the protestants, and to disarm the catholics. He would oppose any arms bill, whether proposed by whig or tory; and he could not conceive that this was a time for such a measure, when it had been incontestably proved that crime in Ireland was steadily decreasing.

Colonel CONOLLY looked upon the repeal agitation as involving a crusade against property. It seemed to him that the circumstances of Ireland imperatively called for such a bill as the present.

Mr TUIRE conceded the point that an arms bill was required for Ireland, but did not think that it should contain so many penal provisions as the present one.

Sir R. PEEL rose to give some explanation relative to a case mentioned with much impression by Sergeant Murphy, of a woman in whose house, during her husband's absence, a pistol had been found in a pail of milk; she had been transported for its concealment; her husband, in revenge, murdered the magistrate by whom her conviction was caused, and was hanged for that murder. This event had occurred when he himself was Chief Secretary for Ireland. The murder of the magistrate (Mr Baker) was committed by five persons, who shot him on his way home from the sessions. A large reward was offered, and it was claimed and received by the very man who had organised the murder, but who had not himself fired the shot. It was in evidence that there were three different roads by which the magistrate might have returned, and on each of those roads were stationed five men, all provided with fire arms, none of whom had any personal ill-will to him. Surely it was not unfit to take precautions against such deeds as this.

Mr ROEBUCK observed, it was said that the discussion which had been raised upon Irish grievances was irrelevant. Not so; for the defence of the bill was put upon the state of society; and the state of society was referable to those grievances. The continued co-existence of outrages and an Arms bill for so many years was a proof that an Arms bill had not put down outrages. The state of Ireland was owing mainly to two causes—the church and the landlords. The disturbances were chiefly agrarian, the people depending little upon wages, but vitally upon land, which, therefore, they resolved to make it dangerous to the owner to take from them. How would your brand on arms stop this? If a man wanted to commit a murder, he would never use a gun with his own brand upon it. If you wanted to cure the fever of Ireland, you must cure it in the veins of government, in its corrupt source—the church.

He had no hesitation in saying that the church of Ireland was the cancerous sore from which sprung the disease which went through all the veins of the government, and carried its foulness through all its horrid and putrescent carcasses (cheers and cries of "Oh, oh!"); it was an abomination which maddened the people (cheers)—maddened they might be by demagogues, who took advantage of real evils to further their own private ends (cheers)—who seized upon public wrongs and the sensitiveness of the people to work their own private and personal advantage; it might be that they were led by a cool calculating mind—one who well knew and understood the character of the people he was dealing with, and they were misled by such a one, while he, by means of public wrongs, safely worked out his personal purposes (cheers). The Roman catholic priesthood of Ireland felt the full evil of the church, and they cordially seconded the efforts of the Liberator, they also working for their own purposes. The priesthood well knew what they were about; they were promised power, and the poor tenant was promised a fixity of tenure; in fact, he was promised the possession of the land of his landlord: with such promises, and considering the state of the people—recollecting that they were almost starving and urged on by the wily artifices to which he had alluded, was it any wonder that they had been roused to the excited state they were now in ("hear, hear," and cheers)?

Bad men might pervert public wrong to personal advantage, but the advantage could not be gained if the wrong did not exist. Could you wonder at the present excitement, when to the priests was promised power, and to the people land? He could not see his way to quiet the latter demand; but detach the priesthood, and the agitation would not be kept up by the people alone.

He said, let the state pay the priesthood, and they might depend upon it in a very few years Ireland would be no longer the Ireland she now was. If they would have a quiet, peaceful population, pay the priesthood, and make them small holders of land, and thereby make them interested in the quietude and welfare of the country. They might have peace if they made the priest's interest peaceful; they were now almost in a state of war, because he was goaded by the sight opposed to his eyes every day, nay, every hour, of a dominant church of which his people were constantly complaining.

Reverse the present state of things; place the Orangeman under the Roman catholic priesthood, and compel him to support the gorgeous church of Rome, from which he derived no advantage, and we should speedily hear an outcry from the Conollys, converted into O'Connells. Sir Robert Peel had been dragged

into a blunder, in commencing a war with magistrates for attending meetings to discuss a subject which they had as much right to entertain as the House to argue the question now before them. Here he was, on the floor of the house of Commons, declaring, in language not to be mistaken, that he wished the downfall of the church of Ireland: was that a sufficient cause for depriving him of any honour which he possessed, or to interfere with his rights? Looking to the circumstances of the country, on the verge of a convulsion, he believed that the most mischievous measure which could be passed was the Irish Arms bill.

Sir J. GRAHAM said, that if the state of Ireland was what Mr Roebuck had described it, this bill ought to be passed at once. It had had its origin in an Irish parliament; it had been continued by a British legislature; it had been renewed from time to time for fifty years; and would the House, in the alleged state of Ireland, refer its further maintenance to a committee above stairs? He then stated, from the official returns made to the Home office, the comparative numbers of murderous crimes in England and in Ireland, showing a vast proportional excess in the latter kingdom. Mr Wyse, the mover of this committee, had himself introduced a similar bill in 1840. The proposal of a committee above stairs was a futile one; the grounds taken by Mr Ward and Mr Roebuck were much higher; and the sooner the opinion of parliament were expressed on them the better. He enumerated the many ineffectual measures of conciliation and concession which had passed within the last few years. He referred to the attempt which had been made by Mr Ward to break down the Irish church; and he desired, that if its destruction were deemed by men of weight in that assembly to be a subject requiring a decision, the subject might be specifically brought before the House.

If the noble lord, the leader of the opposition party, possessed of great influence in the state—if the noble lord, on a great emergency of public affairs, did really believe that some propositions of this kind were absolutely necessary for the salvation of Ireland, let them be brought forward distinctly and fairly [cheers]. If the noble lord thought the pressure of the Irish church too great; if he thought that church should be reduced, let the question be raised, and let it be debated and decided as it deserved [cheers]. If the destruction of the Irish church, and the transfer of its property to the Romish priesthood, were to be discussed—if the question even of a fixity of tenure were to be mooted, let them be discussed as distinct and substantive propositions; but it was unworthy of that House—it was unworthy of the legislature—unworthy, he would not say of statesmen, but even of men of ordinary public virtue or common sense—in cases of great public danger, thus to tamper with questions of this magnitude [cheers].

He had always been a friend to emancipation; he had believed the declarations, the anticipations, and the oaths of the noblemen, gentlemen, and clergy of the Roman catholic faith, who, however, now appeared to have greatly deceived themselves. He quoted a passage from Mr Canning to the effect, that one of his great motives for emancipation was his persuasion that it would add to the security of the establishment. The limit of conciliation had been passed.

Catholic emancipation had been carried; conciliation had been carried out in Ireland to its extreme extent [shouts of "No, no." from the opposition, met by cheers from the ministerial side]. That statement was disputed; and he was glad that they had joined issue [ironical cheers]. Let him be permitted to say, not in a tone of party triumph, but with the utmost sincerity, that he rejoiced they had joined issue upon that point. If the noble lord or any gentleman opposite could point out a single measure of conciliation which did not raise one of the two questions, either of the overthrow of the protestant church in Ireland, or of the total and immediate overthrow of the principle of fixity of tenure—if, he said, they could show any conciliatory measure which did not partake of the principle of an agrarian subdivision of land, which would not trench upon property, or lead to the overthrow of the established church—then, he declared, it was the bounden duty of those hon. members to bring forward the measure without delay; and for that reason it was that he was especially glad that they had joined issue on this point.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL justified the course pursued by himself and his colleagues in their former renewals of this bill, and admitted that he saw no sufficient difference between the circumstances under which those renewals took place and the circumstances of the present day, to refuse his vote for proceeding with the bill. To particular clauses, indeed, he had objections; but those clauses might be resisted in committee. With respect to the general state of Ireland, he warmly censured Sir J. Graham for having unnecessarily entered into it on this occasion.

Sir, the impression that speech has left upon my mind is this—that the right hon. baronet has made it a charge against the Roman catholics of Ireland that they have not been sufficiently grateful for past concessions, and that they, and others on behalf of the people of Ireland, ask still for concessions when all has been done for them which it is possible for the legislature to accomplish [loud cheers]. Such is the sense which I attribute to the right hon. baronet's observations. They are most important, falling from a member of the cabinet; they are still more important coming from the Secretary of State for the Home department; and they cannot fail to make a deep impression in Ireland [repeated cheers].

When the government of 1806 continued the Arms bill, they were contemplating measures of a conciliatory character to accompany it, one respecting tithe, and one respecting education; but not so the present ministry. Lord Melbourne's government had endeavoured to give an unrestricted municipal franchise, but the Tories effected a restriction. An extension of the parliamentary franchise had been proposed—the Tories had successfully resisted it; and since their accession to office they had materially departed from the doctrines which they had held on that subject when they were in opposition. He next adverted to the difficulties attendant upon the agrarian question, and the total absence of discrimination among the "midnight legislators" between justifiable and unjustifiable ejectments. For this he knew not the remedy. Then as to the church question:—

When I say I am not prepared to make a motion on this subject, it does not imply in my opinion, or in the opinion of any man of sense and observation, that the present ecclesiastical state of Ireland is conformable with reason, or that it at all resembles the state of any other country [hear, hear]. You have in Ireland millions of Roman catholics, and hundreds of

thousands of presbyterians, and yet your only church establishment is that of episcopacy, having, say 1,000,000 of members, forming a small minority as compared with the rest of the inhabitants of that country [hear]. Some persons may say, there would be an immediate remedy in the destruction of the establishment of that country. I should say at once, if you destroy your church establishment there, considering the manner in which opinions upon church establishments waver in this country, and considering, likewise, the present state of the church of Scotland, you would endanger the church establishments of the three kingdoms [hear, hear]. It appears to me that the destruction of the establishment in Ireland must have that effect [hear, hear].

The plan proposed by himself in 1835 would, he believed, have been successful if it had been adopted then. His own view was, that the best way now would be, not to depress the establishment, but to raise the Roman catholic clergy.

What, let me ask, can you do now? Your course is encompassed with difficulties; but my course would be not so much to depress the established church in Ireland as to endeavour to raise that of the Roman catholics [opposition cheers]. I do not believe that the Roman catholics would now accept of a provision from the state. That was a wise plan when it was first brought forward in former days, and if it had been made an accompaniment of Roman catholic emancipation it would have had the most beneficial effects. You cannot expect them now to accept it. But the clergy of the Roman catholic religion in Ireland are the clergy of the great majority of the people of that country [hear, hear].

The present government of Ireland did not, in his opinion, perform its functions in a manner which ought to obtain for them the confidence of the people. Both in cordiality to concede, and in firmness to resist, that government was wanting. It was true that many concessions had been made to the catholics; but that was only because the debt you owed them was so large. But a majority upon a church debate in that house, though it might give a party triumph to the ministers, would work little satisfaction to the Irish people. The noble lord concluded as follows:—

I do trust that you will think better of the duties of your high station, that the right hon. gentleman at the head of the government of this country, who I must say shows no disposition to yield to the extreme views of those who are urging him on to measures of coercion; I do trust that he and the government of the country generally will not act in the spirit of that lord high chancellor [cheers], nor in the spirit of that home secretary of state [loud cheers, and cries of "Oh, oh," from the conservative benches, followed by deafening cheers from the opposition]; but that they will consider that if it is necessary to introduce an arms bill—if it is necessary to endeavour to preserve peace in every part of the United Kingdom, it is likewise their duty to the Queen whom they serve, to preserve to her that which she had long held at the commencement of her reign—the affections of that devoted and loyal people her subjects in her kingdom of Ireland [the noble lord sat down amidst cheering that lasted for some minutes].

Lord STANLEY, adverting to "the invectives, not the arguments," of Lord John Russell, observed, that the noble lord, in condemning the course taken by the ministers, had avoided all suggestion of remedy, and only dealt in topics of inflammation.

The noble lord admits that danger, he admits that critical position, and yet the noble lord dealing with this subject, admitting the danger, admitting the critical position, admitting the excitement, admitting the danger of the excitement, having no remedy to propose, does not hesitate, with the weight of his official responsibility of former times upon him—with the weight of his character and station upon him—to come forward at this most critical juncture of British and of Irish interests, and without venturing to suggest a remedy, nay, telling you, as he did in the commencement of his speech, that it would consist rather of a suggestion of difficulties than a suggestion of remedies—he brings forward at this moment of popular excitement, and, as he admits, of national danger, every topic which can inflame to madness the people of Ireland, and for the purpose, it would seem, of throwing odium upon a government to which he is opposed for not having remedied a state of things which, by the noble lord's own confession, has existed for years before they came into office, and, at any rate, during the whole period during which the noble lord himself administered the affairs of this country [loud cheers].

All governments, whig and tory, had agreed in the necessity of restricting in Ireland that right to bear arms which is universal in England. If with the Arms bill of 1807, it had been intended by the Duke of Bedford to couple a measure of education, and another of tithe commutation, he would ask whether both those measures had not now been actually carried? The Irish parliamentary franchise was not only as large as the English, but larger.

But the noble lord says the measures of parliamentary reform were altogether unequal in England and Ireland. Is that so? and why is it so? Why was it so? And who was the leading member of Lord Grey's administration in the house of Commons when that unequal, inefficient measure, was brought in [loud cheers]? Why did not the noble lord then feel the difficulties that seem to press on him so heavily now [cheers]? Why did he not then remonstrate against the injustice and inequality of the measure? I was then his colleague [cheers]: I heard no remonstrance; although I sat by the side of the noble lord [loud cheers]; and with me the noble lord, if I mistake not, was prominent in rejecting the amendments for an extension of the franchise which were made in committee on the Irish Reform bill.

With respect to the Registration bill, the present government, on considering its effect, had been satisfied that it would greatly diminish the county constituency, and had therefore held themselves bound to postpone it until the enactment of Irish poor law should have furnished a basis for the reconstruction of the franchise. On the fixity of tenure the noble lord had hinted a fault, and started a discontent, but a remedy he confessed that he had not. Nor was the noble lord at all more prepared on the subject of the church. Mr Roebuck had a plan—total abolition; but against that the noble lord himself knew that shame and duty would both oblige him to vote. Let gentlemen speak plainly, and avow that the only things to conciliate the Irish are the confiscation of the land and the destruction of the church.

I want to know what is the entire liberty, the perfect equality with reference to their fellow citizens which the Roman catholics of Ireland do not now possess [hear, hear]? But if the noble lord complains of the Roman catholic being in confinement, why did he not take him out of the light room when he was in power [hear, hear]? Why did he not fling open the windows, and let loose the prisoner [cheers]? I want to know what more is to be done for the Roman catholic? You say "Much." What is it [cheers]? "No," says the noble lord, "I can suggest difficulties, but I cannot devise remedies" [loud cheers].

Mr M. O'FERRAL claimed credit to the Irish members for abstinence from all factious proceedings, and complained of the tone which had been taken by Sir J. Graham.

Sir C. NAPIER then moved an adjournment, which was negatived on a division.

Captain BRIDGES opposed the bill.

Mr GIBBORNE renewed the motion of adjournment.

Mr M. J. O'Connell, who had been alluded to by Lord Stanley in reference to Mr D. O'Connell's distinction of races, protested against that sort of appeal.

Mr S. HOWARD expressed much displeasure at Sir J. Graham's observation upon the catholics.

Sir H. W. BARRON still more warmly expressed his indignation.

Sir J. GRAHAM called on them to specify the language they objected to.

Several members particularized the passage in which Sir J. Graham had alluded to the oaths and declarations of the Roman catholics.

Sir J. GRAHAM explained. He had said that in advocating the catholic claims, he had believed the declarations of the catholic noblemen and gentlemen; he had imputed no blame to them now; but he had stated that he apprehended them to have deceived themselves in their anticipations.

Mr REDINGTON declared himself satisfied with this explanation.

The O'CONNOR DON expressed his satisfaction, and the debate was then once more adjourned.

Monday, June 19.

FACTORIES BILL.

In reply to Mr HINDLEY,

Sir JAMES GRAHAM said that the government intended to proceed with the Factories bill, though the omission of the educational clauses would render some alteration of the details necessary.

Accordingly, a motion was made by Sir JAMES GRAHAM, that the House should go into committee, in order to introduce the necessary details.

Lord ASHLEY expressed his regret at the failure of the educational clauses, and his fear that the united national education was indefinitely postponed through this refusal of the dissenters to accept the concessions of the church.

Mr GIBSON said it was because the church proceeded upon the notion of concession, and assumed a tone of superiority, that this measure was unsuccessful. The dissenters should have been treated as free citizens, equal in all respects with churchmen.

Sir R. INGLIS hoped that ministers would not abandon their principle. If they had taken a more uncompromising course, they would have had a stronger support from a large body of the well-wishers of their measure.

Mr HINDLEY thanked the government for having abstained from pressing this measure, as their strength might have enabled them to do. He denied that the church had given up anything, and hoped that in another session the churchmen would see the fitness of acting very differently.

Sir G. GREY considered this failure as by no means absolving the ministers from the obligation of looking to the education of the people. He would advise them to increase the annual parliamentary grant.

Some further conversation followed, in the course of which Sir J. GRAHAM intimated that the government would gladly recommend an increase of the parliamentary grant, if voluntary contributions should be raised in due proportion to it. He was not prepared to state that government had any other plan in contemplation.

ARMS (IRELAND) BILL.

The adjourned debate on the Irish Arms bill was then resumed.

Mr GIBBORNE argued that the government had failed in making out a case for the bill. They were now satisfied, he was sure, that the dismissal of magistrates for taking part in meetings for the removal of what they considered a grievance was unconstitutional; but the tone of the speeches of Sir James Graham and Lord Stanley, on Friday night, was calculated to maintain the impression that Ireland was still considered as a conquered country, and treated as such. He did not go the length of Lord John Russell in his views on church establishments, but he saw nothing to prevent any individual from as openly avowing a desire to reform what he might consider a rotten church as a rotten borough.

Mr COLQUHOUN adduced some particular instances as proof that the state of Ireland presented substantial obstructions to the due administration of justice, as well as to the natural liberty of the subject. It was impossible to yield to the demands of the Roman Catholic priesthood, of which he cited some specimens, denouncing their conduct, as well as the language of Mr O'Connell and the agitators for the repeal of the union, who, both in prose and rhyme, uttered the most daring and violent sentiments.

Mr WILLIAMS had visited Ireland last year, for the purpose of ascertaining what was really the condition of the people, and found it the most wretched of any country in Europe. Common justice was all that was required to remove their discontent. The two chief grievances were the church and the law of landlord and tenant; and the sooner these questions were dealt with the better. The case of Lady Dover was an instance in point: were all Irish landlords to imitate her example, it would be well for the country.

Lord JOHN MANNERS was not ashamed to avow his opinion that Mr O'Connell was actuated by sincere and honest motives. But the argument that the Roman catholic church should be established in Ireland, because it was the church of the majority, was invalid, inasmuch as the present Roman catholic church was not the same as the ancient church of Ireland, which had always resisted the authority of Rome until the country was invaded by the English conqueror.

Sir H. W. BARRON censured the whole policy which, for the last half century, had been adopted

towards Ireland; and declared that it was a monstrous and a dangerous absurdity to maintain a church in districts where no professors of its faith were to be found. He did not object to the due and proper maintenance of the protestant establishment, because, though as a Roman catholic he believed his own faith to be the purest, he had no wish to force it on others. Appealing earnestly to the government for the adoption of measures calculated to benefit that country, he affirmed that those of the Irish members who thought with him had a greater interest in the peace and quietness of Ireland than even the conservative party; and assured the government that if, instead of treating the people as aliens in blood, language, and religion, they would resort to an equitable and liberal policy, they would soon re-establish peace and harmony.

After a few words from Mr HARDY, Mr E. ELLICE said he had originally reluctantly made up his mind to vote for the Arms bill, as necessary in the actual circumstances of Ireland. But the declaration of the government, through Sir James Graham, that conciliation had been carried to its utmost extent, led him to view it as a portion of a system of coercion, and, therefore, he felt himself compelled to oppose it. There were grievances in Ireland to be redressed—of which the two chief were those certainly difficult subjects, the state of the church, and the tenure of land. But because they were difficult, were we to shrink from them?

Sir CHARLES NAPIER, amidst much laughter, adverted to a sneer flung at him by Lord Stanley on Friday night, and declared that though he could not make so flowery a speech as the noble lord, he could at least express his opinion with as much good temper, political consistency, and modesty. He would support the Arms bill, if he believed it would do good to Ireland; but he was satisfied that it would increase the agitation in that country.

Mr LANE FOX was afraid that the "Liberator" would be able to make good his threat of rendering the present year, 1843, the year of repeal. The law, as it stood before the passing of catholic emancipation, was as much the law of God as that which issued from Mount Sinai; and the time was now come when every protestant must feel the truth of the words of the Saviour, when he said that the sword must be drawn in defence of the church; and, quoting scripture, he should say that he who had not a sword should sell his garment to buy one. He quoted several other scriptural passages, and declared his determination to prove that the late Emperor of the French was the seventh apocalyptic head of the beast, or Roman power. Rome in these days was about to become more terrible than she had ever been since the old she-wolf was wet nurse to Romulus. He then referred to the scene of the transfiguration, and to Moses, Elias, and St John the Baptist, and expressed his conviction that Elias was not far off. God would stand by his true British church in these latter days; and though her sun was eclipsed by the passing of catholic emancipation, still she would shine out more brightly than ever. The following extract from the concluding portion of his speech is a fair sample of the whole:—

Having entered on this subject, he must press on the House his view of the Roman power, being the power with which the church of England was at war, and consequently he must refer to the French revolution. When that explosion took place—when France shook off the dominion of Christianity altogether, and Napoleon became the head of the empire of the French—that man being one of those emanations from the Roman power [great laughter]. They would perceive it if they would listen. They would remember that Rome was the power under which the Israelitish nation was enlightened at the time of the appearance of our Saviour. We were told that seven or eight kings were to arise; one had arisen in the time of William the Conqueror [question, question]. His intention was to prove that the late Emperor of the French was the seventh head from the Roman power. There were five rulers exercising kingly power, these five being Pagan powers, the Emperor of the French declared himself a Pagan. He acknowledged Mars, the god of war [laughter]. He took Mars as a god, and a mighty god he found him, when he left him in the lurch. What he said he should maintain; if the reformation was not the work of God, our church of England stood on very slender grounds; if it was of God, the admission of those adhering to the Roman catholic religion in that house could not be justified by any jesuitical arguments whatever. We had the words of the honourable member for Cork that he did not consider it an act of justice—he said it was the catholic rent which carried emancipation, and that the repeal rent should carry repeal. He was trusting to filthy lucre to carry the day for him, and not to justice. He did not know whether the House attached value to his opinions, but he wished to state them a little further. He said that Rome had been more terrible in the days in which we lived than she ever had been in the days of the old she-wolf—the wet nurse of Romulus and Remus [laughter]. He was told that gentlemen called him mad; but he would remind them of the anecdote of George III., who, when he was talking with some of his courtiers, who said Nelson was mad, replied, that he wished he would madden some of his admirals. He would state his opinion with respect to the future prospects of the church of England. After the transfiguration [great laughter] it was asked, must not Elias come? and the answer was, Elias must come and restore all things. This was said after John the Baptist was beheaded. Unless they showed an unflinching front, and governed with a strong arm and strong power, it would be needless, for they might be as sure as they were living that Elias could not be far off. He said before that House, that here, where God had planted his true church, he had also planted a branch of Israel to stand, which had stood, and would stand for ever. The powers of darkness in these latter days [bursts of laughter interrupted the honourable member, and drowned the conclusion of his speech].

Mr M. J. O'CONNELL commented on Sir J. Graham's speech, which, however, as well as the other speeches on the subject of agitation in general, appeared to him irrelevant in a debate upon an arms bill. He then examined, and found fault with, some of the details of the bill.

Mr MUNTZ justified agitation in general, having himself, at the time of the Reform bill, been an extensive agitator. He and his condutors had then been encouraged by Sir James Graham, and no harm had come of it, and no harm had been meant by it. Why then it was fit to leave the same latitude to the Irish. Still, however, if the great question of the stomach were right, he believed Mr O'Connell's agitation would be all in vain. He wished the

government would resort to conciliation instead of coercion.

The House then divided on the motion that the bill should be referred to a select committee.

For the motion	122
Against it	276

Majority for the bill	154
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MISCELLANEOUS.

Factories Bill.—On Thursday night Sir J. Graham made a statement explanatory of the feelings which have induced the government not to press the educational clauses of the Factories bill during the present session. These clauses, he affirmed, had been framed in no sectarian spirit, with the view of meeting the evils so graphically depicted by Lord Ashley; and they had been received by the House, if not with favour, at least with forbearance. The powerful hostility of the dissenters to the clauses, as they originally stood, had induced him to endeavour, by modification, to make them more acceptable, an attempt which had entirely failed. Seeing, therefore, that the hostility of the dissenters remained unabated, and that the church, though it had acquiesced, did not give the measure its cordial support, and feeling that though the bill could be carried, yet that without general concord and co-operation it would be practically a defeat, and worse than inoperative, inasmuch as it would engender religious strife and animosity, the government had come to the resolution of withdrawing the clauses relating to education; and it was now a matter of consideration with them whether or not, and in what form, they would proceed with the other portions of the bill. Lord John Russell considered that a wise discretion had been exercised in withdrawing the educational clauses. He recommended that the government should, during the recess, consider some plan for rectifying the evils of general ignorance, and bring it forward in a shape more likely to be generally acceptable.

The Wesleyans.—Mr Lambton gave notice that on an early day he should move that the education committee of the Wesleyan Methodist society be authorised to receive a portion of the funds granted by the committee of the Privy Council for the purposes of education, as well as the National school and the British and Foreign School society. Mr Hume gave notice that he should move as an amendment, that all other sects do receive an equal portion of these funds [hear, and cheers.]

The King of Hanover.—Mr Blewitt then asked if it were consistent with the constitution, and the conflicting duties of the King of Hanover, that he should take his seat in the house of Lords, and exercise the rights of a peer of the realm and a privy councillor? The Attorney-general declined to answer the question.

Education.—In reply to Mr Wyse, Sir R. Peel said that should increased demands be made upon the committee of Council on Education, they should not hesitate to apply for an increase; but government was not prepared to extend the principle upon which they had hitherto acted in the matter.

The Sugar Duties.—Mr Cobden gave notice, that on going into committee to-morrow on the Sugar Duties bill, he should move—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is not expedient that, in addition to the great expense to which the people of this country are subjected for the civil, military, and naval establishments of the colonies, they should be compelled to pay a higher price for the productions of those colonies than that at which similar commodities could be procured from other countries, and that therefore all protective duties in favour of colonial produce ought to be abolished."

Repudiation.—A friend of ours, travelling to New Orleans, walked up to a curious looking old chap sitting alone in the bow of the boat and remarked, "Where are you from, my friend?" "I'm from Illinois." "Well, are you going to repudiate up there in Illinois as they do down here?" "Why, no," said the old sucker, "I don't think we shall repudiate exactly as they do down here. We owe, they tell me, about 20,000,000 dollars, and I reckon, by waiting till our bonds get to be worth but 5 per cent. in the dollar, we can borrow a million and pay off the whole, and we shall have to repudiate only the million. We cannot think of such a thing as repudiating the whole 20,000,000 dollars. Thank God, we suckers have some honesty."—*Montreal Transcript.*

Postscript.

Wednesday, June 21st, 1843.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Townshend Peerage Bill.—In the House of Commons, the earlier part of last evening was occupied in hearing the arguments for and against the Townshend Peerage bill. The second reading was moved by Mr James Stuart Wortley, and opposed by Mr Charles Buller; and on a division was carried by 153 to 49.

Danish Claims.—Mr Hawes moved for a committee of the whole House, on Wednesday next, to take into consideration the propriety of an address to her Majesty, in order to the indemnification of the sufferers whose vessels and cargoes were confiscated by the Danish government in 1807. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement of the circumstances of the case, so familiar to the public, and declared his determination to adhere to the example of his official predecessors, by resisting the claims. Mr Hawes expressed his disappointment at the speech and determination of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir W. Follet spoke against, Mr Hutt, Mr Aglionby, and Colonel Sibthorp, in favour of, the

claims. A division then took place, when the motion was rejected by 57 to 42.

Repeal of the Septennial Act.—Mr Sharman Crawford afterwards brought on a motion for the repeal of the Septennial act. He briefly referred to the history of the enactment of that measure, which was passed in the first year of George I., and superseded the Triennial act, which he would now restore, his object in doing so being to render the House more responsible to the people. Dr Bowring seconded the motion, alleging that any measure increasing popular influence out of doors should have his constant and cordial support. Sir James Graham contended that a duration of considerable extent should be given to the system of representation, for otherwise members would always be labouring under a want of knowledge of the habits of the House, and under a want of experience in public business. The events of recent times showed that, though by law parliaments might exist for seven, practically they did not exist for more than four years. This rendered the responsibility of the representative to the constituent serious enough, so that the prospect of a dissolution must always have some influence upon his judgment and his vote. The House then divided; 23 voting for the motion, 46 against it. [The kind of interest taken by the Commons in the reform of their own House, may be judged of from the numbers on the division list, and the fact that at one part of the discussion, 35 members only were present.]

Gun Brigs.—Captain Berkeley next called the attention of the House to the inexpediency and danger of employing the old class of ten-gun brigs under commanders, and re-establishing them as sloops of war in her Majesty's navy. These vessels are appropriately termed by the *Examiner* "floating coffins." A discussion took place, Captain Gordon and Mr S. Herbert defending their use; and Captain Berkeley's motion was lost by 75 to 41.

Spain.—The following is the substance of an express from Paris:—

PARIS, JUNE 19.

The only French news is that the Budget commission has refused to rescind its recommendation to reduce 14,000 men of the army.

Madrid news is of the 13th. The events of Valencia were known, and had produced much effect.

The correspondence of the French papers says that the Regent had been re-advised to resign, and that he had replied that he would not yield, but die, if necessary, on the field.

The troops that had approached Granada were merely those of General Alvarez, who has no great force; and Granada, after demanding twenty-four hours' respite, had ended by resolving to resist.

A new junta, favourable to Espartero, was said to have been formed at Malaga.

According to the *Debats*, the commander of Mountjonish had refused to surrender it; he had got rid of such troops as he was not sure of, and resolved to defend his post. Zurbano was master of Reuss on the evening of the 13th, and had disarmed the inhabitants.

By a decree of the 12th Seoane was named Captain-general of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia; but the news of the 13th was said to have decided the Regent to take the field in person.

Anti-Slavery Convention.—At yesterday morning's sitting a most important and interesting discussion took place on the subject of Texas, in relation to the anti-slavery cause. It appears from the statements put forward by several of the American delegates, that the continuance of slavery in the United States is materially dependent on the annexation of Texas to that country—that if it did not take place, slavery would probably be abolished in Texas—that the subject is likely to prove the subject of discussion at the next meeting of Congress—and that the slave states would risk a war with this country in carrying their object, but that the free states are opposed to it. Resolutions were passed on the subject, and also a resolution with reference to John Quincy Adams. At the afternoon sitting the Ashburton treaty was considered, and the 10th article condemned. The Convention closed by passing the following resolutions:—

"That it is the opinion of this Convention, that the anti-slavery cause would be much promoted and strengthened by the formation of anti-slavery societies, founded on the principles of the fundamental guilt of slavery, and of the moral duty of immediate, thorough, and universal emancipation."

"That in order to carry into practical operation the above resolution, the delegates and friends of this Convention be requested to assist such societies in their respective cities and neighbourhoods."

"That, in conformity with the precedent of the Convention in 1840, it be referred to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to call another convention, similar in character and objects to the present, whenever, in their judgment, the cause would be promoted by it."

Meeting of the Repeal Association.—The usual weekly meeting of the association took place at the Corn exchange. The chair was taken by Mr O'Mahoney. Although Mr O'Connell was absent, the room was as densely crowded as upon any previous occasion. The meeting was occupied with the receipt of the repeal rent and the admission of members until half-past two o'clock, when loud shouts were heard from the outside, and Mr O'Connell, accompanied by Mr Steele, soon after appeared in the room, where he was received with a succession of cheers. At the close, Mr O'Connell announced the rent for the week to be £3,103 7s. 6d., amidst protracted cheering.

Athlone Demonstration.—The demonstration which took place on Saturday differs little in character from the preceding ones. The numbers were variously estimated at from 50,000 to 400,000. Complete tranquillity and good humour prevailed, though the militia were within a short distance. Lord Ffrench presided at the dinner.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

A moderate supply of English wheat and 2,400 quarters of foreign. Prices nominal and little doing.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications are thankfully acknowledged from "John Epps, M.D.," "A Friend at Nottingham," "A Dissenting Layman," "Noncon," and "An Enemy to all Government Interference." "J. B. M.," "A Subscriber," and "A. B." next week, if possible.

"W. Catecott." As soon as we can find room.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1843.

SUMMARY.

THE game of party is going on in the direction we anticipated three weeks since. The *Morning Chronicle*, more grateful than delicate, labours with exemplary zeal to get up "a restoration," *in petto*. The whigs are brushing up. There has been, of late, a liveliness about their movements which has in it the sparkle of hope. The thick clouds which have so long overhung their prospects show light patches here and there, giving to the expectants of office a promise of returning sunshine. They are preparing themselves, in due time, for the responsibilities which they anticipate will ere long devolve upon them. Feelers are protruded on all sides with the laudable view of measuring the width and depth of public opinion. Gradually, the leaders of the "outs" are disencumbering themselves of all professions which would incommode them whenever they shall become the "ins." Speeches in parliament now assume a more practical character, and the opposition cautiously hint at the leading features of that policy which they are ready, whenever permitted, to carry out in practice. Clubs and cliques talk more confidently than heretofore of whig merits, and, as in the nursery game, when Lord John Russell seems to turn away somewhat proudly from office, they energetically clap their hands and chaunt—

"Turn back, turn back, thou scornful knight,
And take the fairest in thy sight."

The postscript of our last number contained a brief notice of the debate on Tuesday se'nnight, upon the motion of Lord John Russell for a committee of the whole House, to consider the law respecting the import duties on corn. It presented no features of novelty. The noble mover spoke of a moderate fixed duty, but warily and successfully fenced off every attempt made to wrest from him an explanation of what duty would, in his judgment, be entitled to the description. He disclaimed for himself and for his party the reputation of founding free-trade principles, and seemed to think that the honours they had achieved in days gone by, were enough to satisfy the largest ambition. Like Wolsey when out of court, he appeared to be deeply impressed with the danger of "too much honour"—regarded it as "a load would sink a navy"—and was content, therefore, that a tory cabinet should reap whatever credit might accrue to them from the adoption of his policy. O! Lord John, Lord John! We must needs bring to your remembrance that you did not forego the reputation which you now set light by, without a desperate struggle to entwine it with whig laurels. We are irresistibly reminded of the negro, who having clutched a rabbit, went home ruminating upon the best mode of cooking it. It was so "bery fat," that he was at a loss whether it ought to be roasted, or boiled, or stewed. Whilst engaged in untwisting this perplexity, the rabbit sprang out of his arms, and having run to a safe distance, turned and looked back upon his disappointed captor. The negro, chagrined at his mishap, made the best of it, and bawled out, "You long-eared, white-whiskered, short-tailed rascal, you no so bery fat, after all." The whigs are not anxious to increase their reputation by carrying a moderate fixed duty—but a fixed duty, nevertheless, they proposed ere they resigned office, and upon this measure appealed to the constituencies. The motion of Lord John Russell was rejected by a majority of 99—the numbers being, for the motion, 145; against it, 244.

On Thursday night Sir James Graham announced to the House the withdrawal by government of the educational clauses of the Factories bill. His speech on the occasion was eminently characteristic. He re-asserted the purity of his motives—gave to his measure the praise of having been conceived in a spirit of large liberality, altogether free from the leaven of sectarianism—he yielded due credit to parliament for having met his

effort in the most compliant temper—wondered greatly at the excitement which it had produced out of doors—complained that the church had given him acquiescence merely, not cordial support—and, having spoken most feelingly of his bitter disappointment, generously forgave those who had been the means of inflicting it. He came as a dove, and as a dove he returned. No man ever gave a better illustration of the "*suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*." Sir James is, ordinarily, an incautious speaker—his language is, on most occasions, remarkable for its acridity. How comes it, then, that throughout this Factories bill business, he has assumed a tone so strikingly opposite? Why sunk his harsh voice into a whisper, as though he were telling a tale of tenderness? Above all, why, at parting, did he smile forgiveness, and retreat from his chosen position with such gentle regrets, that men might be tempted to believe Sir James Graham an ill-used man, who "even when hated, loves." We fear it is, that he means to return when times are more propitious. Irish troubles are now upon him—to say nothing of the rude shock recently sustained by the Scottish kirk. But he will come again next session, with a measure essentially the same, however skilfully re-cast. Lord John Russell, who was tolerably satisfied with the original measure, urged the Home secretary to try his hand again. The two parties have thus cleared the ground for some more ingenious trap for dissenters—and between them, under colour of concern for popular education, it will go hard if they cannot compass some scheme for increasing the power of the church.

On Friday, the adjourned debate on the Irish Arms bill was resumed, and the discussion was distinguished by three remarkable speeches—one by Mr Roebuck, another by Sir James Graham, the third by Lord John Russell. The first boldly recommended the establishment in Ireland of the Roman Catholic priesthood—the second declared the policy of conciliation to have been tried and exhausted—the last hinted at the propriety of taking the priests into state pay, dwelt largely on the grievances of the sister kingdom, and left an impression that another appropriation clause might constitute a formidable weapon with which to assail even a confident majority. We are much indebted to the honourable member for Bath, and to the noble lord, the member for London—but really we wish they would be somewhat less zealous in creating new religious establishments. It may be very well for the infidel school of statesmen to take into state alliance any form, whether of truth or error, with a view to keep down, as the phrase goes, "the fanaticism of the saints;" but with all deference to Mr Roebuck, who really means what he recommends, and to Lord John Russell, who shrinks from recommending what he means, the people of this country are not quite prepared to go with them to the extent of feeling popery in Ireland. Give up the protestant establishment, by all means; but don't commit the blunder, so utterly uncalled for, of allying Romanism with the civil power. The catholic clergy do not ask for it—the Irish people do not want it—and we see no reason for imposing either upon them or upon ourselves the dangerous and very expensive crotchets of the few politicians, who think the only way to keep religion quiet is to make its ministers the pensioners of the state. The discussion was again adjourned.

The Canadian Corn bill has been read a third time in the House of Commons, and been passed. It is now in the House of Lords. The Princess Augusta's Annuity bill obtained a second reading by a majority of 104. Lord Howick suggested the propriety of making some provision for the family of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. One would really imagine this country to be overburdened with funds, so numerous, so various, and so ingenious are the contrivances which senators devise to transfer money from the people to the aristocracy.

On Monday night Sir James Graham announced the entire abandonment by government of its educational scheme. They will not, at present, interfere further: they see no prospect of doing so with advantage: they are therefore compelled, unhappy men! to leave the manufacturing districts in that hopeless and Egyptian darkness described by the commissioners' report. We verily compassionate them; and, with a view to console their much-depressed spirits, beg to direct them to the very able and important statistical digest got up under the superintendence of Edward Baines, jun., Esq., and published in the *Leeds Mercury*. Of this valuable document we have given an abstract in our own columns. Differing as we do with the *Leeds Mercury* on many political subjects, we are the more anxious to testify our unfeigned gratitude for the industry, zeal, and consummate ability with which it has dissipated the falsehoods of, or at all events the false impressions created by, the report in question. We commend our abridgment of this document to the careful study of our readers, and again, without abating an iota of our difference with the *Leeds Mercury*, tender its editor our cordial thanks for the service it has rendered the cause of religious willinghood by the collection,

arrangement, and publication of these authentic details.

The adjourned debate on the Irish Arms bill was renewed, and terminated in a division at a late hour. The numbers stood thus—For going into committee, 276; against it, 122: majority, 154. The speech of Mr Lane Fox is rich, and the theology of it as original as it is profound.

Beyond parliament, we have little of domestic interest to record this week. Upon the proceedings of the Anti-slavery Convention we have spoken elsewhere. In Ireland, Mr O'Connell is pursuing, unmolested, and in seeming triumph, his repeal agitation. The Anti-corn-law Leaguers continue to make incursions into the agricultural districts. Mr Bright and Mr R. R. Moore have been at Huntingdon, where, however, they sustained something like a defeat—if, indeed, the loss of a resolution can be looked upon in that light. The complete suffrage movement is silently making way, its advocates caring much more to prepare themselves against the next general election, than to raise about themselves the dust of immediate popularity. We may, however, point attention to the soirée to be held by the Finsbury association, at White Conduit house, on Tuesday next, which, as it will be graced by the presence of some of the American gentlemen, delegates to the Anti-slavery and Peace conventions, promises to be unusually interesting. Measures are now in progress for organising all the metropolitan boroughs.

Spain appears, by the last accounts, to be in a critical position. Catalonia has risen—Valencia is in arms—Zurbano has been obliged to retreat—and Espartero can only hope to secure his position by desperate energy. France is busy in fomenting discord—perhaps, it would be more proper to say, Louis Philippe. His passion for intrigue will remain as long as life is continued to him; and, unfortunately, the evils of war present to him an incitement rather than a bar to its gratification.

A RETREAT WITH AMMUNITION AND BAGGAGE.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM has, at length, seen fit to retire from the menacing position he had taken up against dissenters. On Thursday night he announced to the House of Commons, his withdrawal of the educational clauses of the Factories bill. This result is probably to be ascribed in part to the difficulties in which the repeal movement has involved the government. Doubtless, the activity of the whole nonconforming body made some impression upon the seemingly impermeable decision of the Home secretary. But, looking at the honourable baronet's unflinching reception of the first fire of petitions, and taking into account the known contempt which all parties in parliament have been wont to cherish towards dissenters, it is questionable whether any agitation of theirs would have availed to compel the cabinet to retreat. Be this as it may, the foe is gone—the field he lately held with such insulting pertinacity is abandoned—he has carried with him his ammunition and baggage, and will probably choose a more convenient season for commencing his second campaign against the rights of conscience.

The question now occurs, and will not brook evasion—What use do dissenters intend to make of their triumph? It is comparatively easy to gain a victory—it is far more difficult to turn it to account. The first requires nothing beyond untiring energy—the last demands moral courage under the guidance of consummate skill. The disadvantages of a merely defensive warfare have been keenly felt during the recent encounter. At every public meeting of any importance, this was unhesitatingly confessed. When the antagonist is at liberty to occupy his own ground, to select his own weapons, to combine his separate movements, and to fix his own time for ordering an attack, he must needs enjoy a considerable superiority over those upon whom he makes an aggression. Moreover, in case of failure, he can always, as in the present instance, make good his retreat, and convert necessity into a show of merit. With such experience fresh in their memory, nonconformists have now to decide whether these advantages shall be given to their foes, or seized upon for themselves. The testing hour has only now arrived—the hour which will try what stuff they are made of. It remains to be seen whether attachment to great principles can move them equally with insult and degradation—whether truth can lead them forth with zeal as hot and resolution as invincible, as when pricked into action by wanton assaults upon their rights—in a word, whether they can do that for religion which they have done for themselves. It is not for us to anticipate their decision, far less to prognosticate their subsidence into apathy. But we may avail ourselves of the momentary pause which naturally succeeds the proclamation of their triumph, to urge upon them, for their own sakes, and for the sake of the truths they hold, a serious consideration of their present position and duty.

We are not of those who would counsel an immediate application to parliament for the dissolution of the bond which unites church and state. We think a demonstration of strength on this question would, at the present time, be premature.

There are other, wiser, more effective methods of going to work. Our own people have yet to be taught what are their principles and what their worth. The masses of our labouring population have yet to be convinced that Christianity is not priestism, nor piety a cloak for the acquisition of pelf. Ere any promising descent upon the legislature can be undertaken by dissenters, they must saturate the population with sound knowledge, must make every nook and corner of the country ring with the sound of their principles, and by earnest, consistent, untiring, and universal effort, must create a generous enthusiasm in favour of truth, which can smile at present disappointments, and watch, and work, and endure, even when no immediate advantage is to be gained by their efforts. We have all the requisite organisation for this great and glorious work. We are not wanting in the talent and skill necessary for conducting it. The first step is half the battle. The apparatus at hand needs only to be put in motion—and, simultaneously, from thousands of points, light might go forth, before which all the noxious creatures which now crawl about in darkness, leaving their slimy track upon every walk of life, would hasten away into obscurity, and cease to frighten the land from its propriety. A conference of delegates fairly chosen, and held in some central provincial town, seems most likely to supply the moving power. With a view to this, and this only, we have more than once suggested the idea. We have pledged ourselves to attempt its realisation; and the abandonment of the educational clauses leaves us at full liberty to redeem our pledge.

Dissenters have been in the habit, heretofore, of excusing their inaction by pleading the unripeness of the times in respect to the abolition of church establishments. Whatever may have once been the validity of this plea, it will hardly avail them now. Events are all pointing in the direction of their principles. In Scotland the establishment totters to its very base. Upwards of four hundred and fifty ministers have, within the last six weeks, gone forth from her gates, and are now shaking the dust from off their feet as a witness against her pollutions. Even before this fearful disruption, the seceders were a powerful and influential body, comprising little short of half the population; and before their well-timed and vigorous efforts the presbyterian establishment quailed in sheer dismay. How changed her position now! Her chief men, they who stood "in th' imminent deadly breach," and flung into the defence of their loved and honoured church an ardour worthy of a better cause, have abandoned her once time-hallowed walls, and are now foremost among her assailants. Who can be silly enough to imagine, save some unfledged or grey-bearded senators, that the inertness which remains will be able to withstand the shock of a double aggression? Wales has long been a strong-hold of dissent, and a state church has a merely nominal hold upon the Cambrian heart. In Ireland, the downfall of the establishment is evidently near at hand—so near, that statesmen talk aloud of its insecurity. Nor are matters in England much less hopeful. The introduction of the Factories Education bill, and the dogged pertinacity with which Sir James Graham attempted to force it upon an unwilling people, have awakened dissenters to a consciousness of their danger, and infused into them a spirit of determination to which they had long been strangers. The proper time is now come. We have arrived at a crisis. We have in our favour the *prestige* of triumph. We must quit our entrenchments—and the word must be given to advance to the attack. "Now or never" must be our motto.

Should the nonconforming body decline to enter upon so large a contest, and refuse to push their present victory to its legitimate issue, the experience of the last three months will have been thrown away upon them—sudden cessation of energetic effort will be followed by as sudden an exhaustion of public spirit—and the tameness or timidity which will not be persuaded to attack will invite more insidious aggressions. There is evidence enough floating upon the surface of affairs to indicate the determined hostility of the church. That hostility a single defeat may exasperate, but will do nothing to subdue. It will probably prosecute its designs more cautiously, but not less resolutely than before. Defensive agitations may occasionally succeed, but speedily wear themselves out. Every repetition of assault does somewhat to diminish the means, and to enervate the motives, of resistance. There is incessant stir, but no progress; all the turmoil and confusion of severe contention, without even a semblance of its fruits. A dozen battles gained, leave us only where we were at the commencement of the first. The church will find us work enough to do. These attacks upon the freedom of conscience cost her no effort. She occupies a position from which she can annoy us again and again with perfect impunity. And the formidable means she has at her disposal she may be expected to employ. A series of petty manœuvres, neither of which alone will be important enough to drive us into active warfare, but which, taken altogether, will effectually secure her object,

may be anticipated as the reward of passiveness on the part of dissenters.

On all accounts the desirableness of moving on to the permanent occupation of our distinctive principle is obvious. The great truth it embodies, as we have shown at large in another place, identifies itself with Christianity, and with the best interests of man, social, civil, moral, and spiritual. Providence has opened up a way for us—and the recent attack upon our liberties has roused us from slumber. We could not, at a more auspicious moment, enter upon an agitation for the release of the church from the bonds of secular authority. The very storms which convulse the political world beat in the faces of those who are ranged against us. To this pass, by no agency of ours, matters have, of late, been brought—that our own safety, equally with our regard for truth, demands an instant and bold advance. To sit still is to perish. The hearts of our friends are now inspirited by victory—the courage of our assailants for a moment damped. Hesitation at this juncture will bring back upon us, at no distant period, the force we have compelled to retire. Our present superiority is a casual rather than a permanent one. We have succeeded in driving our adversaries from their own ground. They have sounded a retreat; but let us not lose sight of the fact, that it is a retreat with ammunition and baggage.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE sittings of the anti-slavery delegates terminated last evening, and will be followed by a public meeting of the Anti-slavery society this day. The convention was not, as it had been expected, presided over by the venerable Clarkson; and this, perhaps, was the only disappointment which the friends of the cause were called upon to endure. The gentlemen who represented foreign countries were fully as numerous, and certainly as efficient, as could in reason have been anticipated. The interest of the meetings was sustained throughout. There was enough of free discussion to keep every meeting clear of wearisomeness—there was not too much for the preservation of harmonious feeling. The statements laid before the delegates bore upon the face of them the stamp of truthfulness. The prospects of the anti-slavery cause throughout the world were placed in a connected series of views before the mind's eye. The business transacted, and the resolutions passed, were calculated to make a deep impression upon the public mind. Altogether the convention has succeeded to the full extent, we should imagine, of the wishes of its promoters, and slavery has received at its hands another deadly wound.

It will not be expected of us, neither would it be possible, in the short limits of a leading article, to indicate the various topics which came under notice. Perhaps the fullest information laid before the delegates was that which had reference to the position and prospects of slavery in the United States. At present this is the blot upon the escutcheon of our transatlantic brethren; but it is a blot which, through the medium of free political institutions, Christian consistency, energy, enterprise, and benevolence bid fair, at no remote period, to efface. And here we cannot withhold an expression of our admiration from the gentlemen delegated from that country to represent the friends of universal abolition. Their patriotism, which none could doubt, was merged in their concern for the interests of humanity. We desire no finer illustration of the beneficial effects of democratic institutions in educating men, than that afforded by the conduct of the American delegates. Their calm self-possession, their good temper, their rigid adherence to truth, their anxiety to submit their statements to searching investigation, their apparent discrepancies but real harmony of evidence, threw around them and diffused through the meeting an atmosphere of unconventional and unsophisticated freedom, which we have never before breathed in this country. We felt that we were in the presence of men whom aristocratic maxims had never twisted into cunning, nor aristocratic influence cowed into subservency. They stood erect as freemen; they spoke the language of persons accustomed to think and act for themselves; and deeply feeling, as it is plain they did, the disgrace which slavery entails upon America, they gave the most cheering proof that it is a disgrace which will soon be wiped off, and one which, not many years hence, will be a matter only of history.

A long discussion took place on the policy of admitting into the British market, upon the same terms as those enjoyed by our West Indian colonists, the slave-grown sugars of Cuba and Brazil. Our own opinions upon this subject were placed upon record two years since, and we have seen no reason to modify or alter it. We take the right of a man to dispose of his labour, at any market he may select, as equivalent to the right of a man to personal freedom. To shut out by legislative means our own exports from Brazil, for the sake of discouraging slavery and the slave trade, is, to our view, seeking a laudable object by trespassing upon what is not our own. There is misery enough in England—misery little short of the horrors of

the "middle passage." We submit whether we have authority to protract the one with a view to abolish the other. The convention avoided any direct decision of this point—the previous question having been carried by a large majority.

We deeply regret that our limits prevent us from furnishing our readers with more than a bare outline of proceedings. A full report will be published under the direction of the Anti-slavery society. We cannot, however, forbear noticing the conduct of the *Times* in this matter. The *Times* some months since affected a virtuous horror at the scurrility and baseness of the American newspaper press. We then took the liberty of rebuking the arch-traitor to every principle which is worth preserving amongst men. And now we beg to ask, what impression does the *Times* hope to convey to foreign visitants by its grotesque reports of the Anti-slavery convention? Ribaldry without wit, buffoonery which is as stale as it is disgusting, mis-spelt names of speakers, misrepresented speeches, falsehood for falsehood's sake—surely all this tends little to sustain our vaunts of the refining and elevating tendency of aristocratic institutions! The truth is, the subject is not much in unison with the habits, feelings, and objects of our stock-exchange frequenters and our city merchants, our money-lenders and our tradesmen. These the *Times* represents; and to the vilest appetites of these men it panders with unblushing front—the most abandoned pimp of the literary world.

Neither the *Times*, however, nor any of its coadjutors, can stay the splendid work of benevolence which is making such rapid progress. Slavery must die—that truth is written in light. There are abroad the elements of an antagonism which will assuredly throttle it, sooner or later; and this convention will be found to have contributed not a little to its final overthrow.

HER MAJESTY'S SUMMER EXCURSION TO THE COAST.—The contemplated visit of her Majesty to her Irish dominions during the summer, accompanied by her illustrious consort, having been abandoned, in consequence of the alarming and excited state of that portion of the kingdom, it is now expected the sovereign and Prince Albert, with (probably) the Prince of Wales and the infant Princesses, may pay a second and early visit to Walmer Castle, the official residence of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. In the event of this arrangement being carried into effect, it is considered more than probable that the Royal Victoria and Albert yacht will be anchored off the castle during the sovereign's sojourn at Walmer, in order that her Majesty and the Prince may take frequent excursions along the Kentish coast, and visit the ports of Dover, Ramsgate, Margate, &c., by sea.

The King of Hanover, it is said, intends to remain in this country until the last week in the ensuing month, or the first week in August. He visits and is much visited by the aristocracy, but wisely keeps clear of appearing in public.

Lord and Lady Brougham had a soirée at their mansion in Grafton street, on Tuesday week, when the King of Hanover "was pleased to honour the noble and learned lord with his company."

EQUAL ENGLISH LAW.—If a person dies possessed of £20 in personal property, the stamp duty upon administering to it, would be (exclusive of law charges) £0 10 0

If a rich man dies possessed of £20,000 in real property, the stamp duty upon probate, or administration, would be 0 0 0

If a person dies possessed of personal property to the amount of £20 there would be a legacy duty:—

Children per cent. £1 0 0

Brothers and sisters and their descendants . 3 0 0

Brothers and sisters of the father or mother

of deceased, and their descendants 5 0 0

Brothers and sisters of the grandfather or

grandmother of deceased, and their de-

scendants 6 0 0

Other persons 10 0 0

If a rich man dies possessed of real property

to the amount of £20,000, the legacy duty

would be 0 0 0

This is one of the boasted beauties of equal English

law!—*Sun.*

Intelligence has been received at the Admiralty of the safe arrival of the discovery ships, Erebus, Capt. Ross, and Terror, Capt. Crozier, at the Cape of Good Hope, on their homeward voyage, after having fully effected the objects of the expedition in the Antarctic regions; and it is satisfactory to learn that they met with no accident in the ice, and that there was not a man on the sick list. The ships are also in as good condition as when they first sailed from England, about four years ago.

INDUSTRIOUS ENGLAND.—The proportion of persons in the United Kingdom who pass their time without applying to any gainful operation, is quite inconsiderable. Of 5,812,276 males, twenty years of age and upwards, living at the time of the census of 1831, there were said to be engaged in some calling or profession, 5,466,182, as follows:—In agriculture, 2,470,111; in trade and manufactures, 1,888,768; in labour, not agriculture, 698,588; in domestic service, 132,811; as bankers, clergymen, professional men, &c., 275,904; thus leaving unemployed only 346,594, or rather less than six per cent. of the whole.—*Porter's Progress of the Nation.* [And yet the vital interests of the country are sacrificed to the selfishness of but a small proportion of the 300,000. Oh! the charms of an aristocracy.]

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The anti-slavery delegates from all parts of the world assembled on Tuesday week, at Freemasons' hall, Great Queen street, to take measures for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade. Between three and four hundred delegates were present, and amongst them deputations from the United States of America, Holland, Canada, France, Ireland, Scotland, and various towns and anti-slavery associations of England and Wales.

Mr W. T. BLAIR came forward, and, after some introductory remarks, read the following resolution:— "That Thomas Clarkson, announced as President of this Convention, being unavoidably absent, Samuel Gurney be invited to act on his behalf during the business of this Convention."

The Rev. Dr RAFFLES seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr S. GURNEY, having taken the chair (after a short period of silence), said, that he undertook this duty at the request of the meeting, and in consequence of the lamented absence of Thomas Clarkson, by whom the duty would have been so much better performed. He most fervently hoped that the mantle of that philanthropist's spirit might rest upon that convention. They also had to regret the absence of William Allen, from indisposition, otherwise that friend could have taken the chair, and acted efficiently and satisfactorily.

Mr JOSEPH STURGE stated, that it had been the earnest wish of Thomas Clarkson to be present, but in his absence he had forwarded an address to that meeting, which he then read. The following is the main substance of this interesting address, which furnishes a bird's eye view of the present state and prospects of the anti-slavery cause throughout the world:—

My Friends—When I was last here I never expected that I should have lived to be present at another Convention, but Providence has given me a short respite, and I have yielded to the entreaties of my friends to attend this meeting, though I fear, from the shattered state in which I am now, and the loss of my memory, whether I shall be able to recollect even the little which I had intended to say on this occasion. When I look back to past times—to times when I first embarked in the great cause of the abolition of the slave trade, and when I knew of no one to help me in that work, I have reason to be thankful for the wonderful progress of our cause; and I think, therefore, that I cannot do better than lay before you a few facts relating to this progress, as it will give you encouragement to proceed with the great work which you are now assembled to promote. And first, our own country stands foremost in the glory of the abolition cause. Not only has she put an end to the slave trade, but she has put an end to slavery also in her West India colonies; thus giving liberty to not much less than eight hundred thousand slaves. But she is not satisfied with having done this, she is now turning her eyes to her possessions in the East. Instructions were sent out some months ago for the entire abolition of slavery in the settlements of Malacca, Penang, and Singapore; and intelligence has since been received that the Governor-general of India in council, in obedience to the directions of the Imperial Parliament, has given notice of an act which is to lay the foundation for the complete abolition of slavery in the whole of British India. Now, my friends, what most important news is this! British India contains not much less than one hundred millions of people.

FRANCE.—I come now to France. France has also abolished the slave trade. She has not yet abolished slavery; but the draft of two laws are ready to be presented to the Chambers, by one of which the duration of slavery is limited to fifteen years, with some advantages to the slaves in the interim. We cannot, of course, approve of any law which gives a legal sanction to crime even for an hour; but we ought to rejoice to think that at length a day has been proposed when slavery is to cease.

SPAIN.—This country has by law abolished the slave trade, but she has not yet abolished slavery in her West India possessions. Cuba is the richest jewel in the crown of Spain, the treasure which she is frequently sending to the mother country is immense; and it is the mistaken fear lest emancipation, by producing convulsions, should diminish her revenue, which deters her from following our example. There is yet a hope that she may come into our measures in the course of time. There are several individuals, both in Cuba and Spain itself, some of whom in the latter are members of the legislature, who desire such a change. One of the newspapers at Madrid has also lately taken up our cause.

PORTUGAL.—Next to Spain is situated Portugal. She also has put an end to the slave trade, but not to slavery. Having lost her dominions in Brazil, she has no sugar or cotton plantations on which to employ slaves. But she has other possessions in India and Africa; and happy am I to say that a law has been lately proposed by a commission, consisting of three peers of that country, which gives freedom to the slaves in the former in three years; and the commission hopes to see this law extended to the latter; so that all the Portuguese dominions, in a short time, will probably be free from the stain of slavery.

HOLLAND.—Holland comes next under our consideration, which has under her dominion about one hundred thousand slaves. She also has put an end to the slave trade, but has not yet extinguished slavery; but there are well-founded hopes that this great event will be brought about at no very distant time. Three years ago the people of Holland had not directed their attention to the subject, but hundreds now think of it, and are anxious for the measure. The most enlightened citizens of Rotterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Groningen, consider freedom to be the undoubted right of the slave. Two writers have publicly advocated the cause. Two anti-slavery societies have been formed, one at Rotterdam, the other at the Hague; each of these has addressed the King in behalf of abolition; and to this may be added the interesting fact, that an individual at Surinam has written to the governor of that colony and to the authorities at home, stating his conviction that the abolition of slavery there is urgently required to prevent the utter ruin of that colony.

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.—Denmark and Sweden come next under our notice. Neither of these have anything to do with the slave trade. Denmark, indeed, abolished the trade many years ago, and before we ourselves had done so. But neither of these have yet abolished slavery in their colonies. They have, I believe,

only been prevented doing this by that ill-founded fear of consequences, which has operated upon rulers of other nations; but as the royal families of both kingdoms are kindly disposed towards the slaves, and as the King of Denmark has made some little regulations in their favour, as if preparatory to liberty; and as the Crown Prince of Sweden is favourable to the measure, with many other distinguished persons in that country, I cannot but entertain a hope that our wishes will be gratified there.

THE MEDITERRANEAN.—A committee has been established at Malta, to work with our own. Through the exertion of the British consul, the Bey of Tunis has abolished the slave trade in his dominions. He has followed up this measure by a decree, that all the children of slaves are to be born free. He has also stopped all the caravans which were bringing slaves into Tunis. It was the custom with the Sheiks in North Africa to make war against the people in the negro countries there, for no other purpose than that of procuring slaves, which were sent for sale to Tunis, and other parts. Now it must be obvious, that as there are now no markets for slaves at Tunis, there must be a diminution of the slave trade, so far as relates to those countries from which captives used to be sent before. But the committee at Malta are extending their views towards Tripoli; and they have been so successful at Damascus as to have prevailed upon several of the Jews and Christians to liberate their slaves there.

UNITED STATES.—I turn to the United States, which, although mentioned last, I consider in point of importance as standing in the foremost rank; and where, though no decisive step has yet been taken for removing the only yoke of bondage from nearly three millions of slaves within her dominions, there is a noble and steadily increasing number of her citizens indefatigably and resolutely engaged for the accomplishment of this great object; and there are cheering indications that, at no distant period, their labours will be crowned with success. The devotion of our fellow-labourers in this cause in that country is proved by the numerous deputations that at this as well as the former convention, have crossed the Atlantic to render their valuable assistance in our deliberations.

RUSSIA.—I come now to Russia, which has no colonies of black people, whereby to furnish a similar example to those already mentioned. But the present Emperor of Russia has forbidden the African slave trade to his own subjects, and he has also forbidden the use of his flag to foreigners to carry it on. He has, therefore, done all he could, as far as relates to those two evils of which we complain. But, alas! his predecessors, the rulers in former ages, have left him the mournful legacy of slavery, or serfage, as it is called, in his dominions. The late emperor, Alexander, with whom I have conversed both in Paris and Aix-la-Chapelle on this subject, had determined to put down this wicked system as far as he could, and his brother Nicholas, the present emperor, seems to have been carrying out his wishes in this respect by an ukase, not long ago, for this purpose. The following is the substance of it:—It allows contracts to be between the seigneurs, or the nobility, and the serfs, or slaves. Care, however, is to be taken that the property of the former be not endangered by the change, and that this change be made without prejudices to the interest of the latter. The name of serf is to be changed to that of peasant. It is left, however, to the choice of the nobility to make these contracts or not. These are the contents of this ukase, with the exception of directions to certain officers to carry it into practice. It is a pity that something more coercive on the nobility could not have been introduced into it; but when we consider the vast power and influence of the Russian nobility, and how ignorant and vindictive many of them are (not hesitating to plot against the life of the Emperor himself, if he should offend them), no other way than that of voluntary contract, probably, could have been proposed with any chance of success. But will the nobility accede to the terms proposed? It is known that many of them will, but others will probably refuse to do it, and what then will the ultimate result of the ukase be? I have a hope that as the estates cultivated by the peasants will assuredly be much more profitable to their owners than those cultivated by the serfs, that (every man being alive to his own interest) the example will be followed even by those who at first objected to the measure. This measure is a great step in the cause of freedom, as there are many millions of serfs in the Russian dominions.

He then concludes:—

I have only now to say, as far as relates to myself, that I rejoice at being present at this convention, were it only for the opportunity it has afforded me of testifying my love and affection for the sacred cause; and as for you, my friends, my earnest desire is, that God may be present with you in your deliberations, and assist them, and bless them, and that you may return home in health and safety to your families and friends. "Feeling that my general career is drawing to an end, it cannot but be pleasing to me to have lived to see that our triumph is advancing. That work which one of the departing generation begun, will be, I trust, accomplished by you of the rising one; for the same power which blessed the beginning will not withhold his support from the end; and therefore, I now say farewell, and in that beautiful word I include my prayer for the blessing of God on all that concerns you both temporally and spiritually."

It was afterwards ordered that this address be entered on their minutes.

Mr SCOBLE, the secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, read a document containing the constitution and call of the Convention, and the roll of the delegates, and announced that the Paris Anti-slavery society had nominated Mon. Odillon Barrot, one of the vice-presidents of that body, to attend the meeting of the convention; but as he was prevented by his parliamentary duties, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, a peer of France, and Mon. Amedée Thayer, treasurer to the French Anti-slavery society, had been appointed, and would attend their meetings.

After the appointment of office-bearers and some other preliminary business, Mr William Morgan presented a report of the proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, consequent upon the motion of the last convention. It alluded to the last convention, which was attended by 383 delegates from various parts of the world, and thus referred to the results of that convention:—

"The large amount of valuable information brought

under the attention of the convention, together with a faithful record of its proceedings, has been preserved in a volume of 600 pages, a copy of which has been placed in the libraries of all the universities, collegiate, and theological institutions of this country, besides the general circulation which it had in Great Britain, the United States, and on the continent of Europe. It may also be stated that copies of the volume have been placed in the hands of the principal ministers of state in this country and France, and of various royal and other distinguished individuals in different parts of the world, and it is hoped not without great advantage to the anti-slavery cause.

"Among the papers submitted to the convention were the following: 'On the Subject of the Convention,' by the Rev. Thomas Scates. 'On Slavery in Cuba,' by R. R. Madden, M.D. 'On Slavery in India,' by Professor Adams. 'On the Condition of the Free People of Colour in the United States of America,' reprinted from the *U. S. Examiner*. 'Report on Free Labour,' by Jos. Sturge, Esq. 'The Essential Sinfulness of Slavery,' by the Rev. B. Godwin; and on the 'Moral Influence of Slavery,' by the Rev. W. Bevan. These, printed in a separate form, have had a wide circulation in almost every part of the civilised world, and are admirably calculated, both by the style in which they are written, and the facts which they contain, to show the true character of the anti-slavery enterprise, and to awaken the deepest interest in behalf of the suffering and oppressed portion of the human race.

"Besides these admirable and useful pamphlets, the answers to queries relative to slavery and the internal slave trade of the United States, prepared with great care and accuracy by the executive committee of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery society, has been published in a volume of four hundred and eighty pages, and very extensively circulated in this and other countries. Copies of this valuable summary have been presented to many public institutions, colleges, and libraries; to missionaries; and to many distinguished persons in Europe, America, and the West Indies.

"By the extensive circulation of the information contained in the foregoing volumes and pamphlets, light has been diffused, and it is believed an interest excited equal to the most sanguine expectations of the friends of human freedom. It may not be improper to notice also that the most important of these works have been favourably received by the leading journals and periodicals of this country, and their influence thereby still further extended."

The report then goes on to allude to a resolution passed by the last convention, on the duty of Christian churches to withhold fellowship from slaveholders; and states that the Wesleyan conference, the Congregational union of England and Wales, the Baptist union, the Northern association of Presbyterian churches, and the Southern Irish Baptist association, have expressed their approbation of the principle laid down therein; and they are happy to find that the example of the British churches and religious associations has been followed to a considerable extent by churches and ecclesiastical bodies in the United States. Memorials on the subject of slavery had been transmitted to the heads of governments in every part of the world, which, with one exception, "were treated with scorn and contempt."

The Rev. J. BURNET, in a short speech, moved the adoption of the report.

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT (of Boston, U. S.), in seconding the resolution, observed, that the slaveholders of the United States were not among those who despised their labours and that convention [hear, hear]. He grieved at the condition of America as regarded the question of slavery [hear, hear]. He acknowledged that he was, though English blood coursed in his veins, an American citizen. On his return he should have to give an account of these proceedings to those who had sent him to attend their Convention; and what they said and did, he could assure them, would be considered in the slave as well as in the free states of America [hear, hear]. The effects of the last convention, he hesitated not to declare, had dissolved the connexion between America and slavery. Many good men there, as well as many sagacious politicians, now eagerly considered the evil of slavery, and patriotically sought its extinction. The existence of slavery was felt to have an important bearing on the peace of the world; because it was now manifest that slaveholders would plunge nations into war to maintain their detestable institution. That being more manifest than ever, the absolute necessity was seen of extinguishing slavery as well as the slave-trade [cheers].

After a short address from the Rev. J. W. C. PENNINGTON, of Hartford, Connecticut (a black), and a few observations from the CHAIRMAN, the resolution was put and carried unanimously. The Convention then adjourned.

At four o'clock the sitting was resumed, Mr S. GURNEY again taking the chair.

Mr SCOBLE introduced the afternoon's sitting by reading a very lengthy report, illustrative of the progress of the cause for extinguishing slavery since the last convention, particularly showing how much had been effected by the legislation of this country, especially by the voluntary extinction of slavery in India. It particularly instanced its extinction in Scinde, without making any reference to the manner in which Scinde has come into our possession. It also noticed its extinction in Ceylon. The report concluded with expressing the conviction, especially from the efforts made by this country to terminate slavery, and in passing acts to fulfil the accomplishment of legislation, that the cause of exterminating slavery had rapidly and most advantageously advanced.

Mr J. T. PRICE, of Neath, Wales, moved, and the Rev. H. H. KELLEY seconded, the following resolution:—

"That, in receiving the report of the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the last convention, is called to unite in devout thanksgivings to God for all the happy and beneficial results which have now been announced, and for the sound wisdom and discretion marking the same." &c.

The CHAIRMAN, in putting the resolution, observed

that he had never heard a report that gave such complete satisfaction [hear, hear]. The success that had attended their efforts was unprecedented. They had only to go forward, and slavery, as it existed in the continental nations and in America, must fall before them. The resolution was agreed to unanimously.

Some conversation took place respecting the case of the Creole, and the slaves escaping across the American border into Canada. Ultimately it was agreed that a committee should be named on the following day, to digest the matter and prepare a report for the Convention.—Adjourned.

Wednesday.

The Convention re-assembled at Freemasons' hall—Mr Richard Peeke, one of the vice-presidents, in the chair.

Mr MORGAN suggested that the case of the Creole, which stood first in the order of the day's proceedings, should be postponed, to enable some friends who were that day about to depart for the western coast of Africa, for the purpose of establishing a mission, to state their views to the Convention.

The Rev. J. CLARKE, from Jamaica, said that the Rev. Dr Prince, the Rev. Mr Merrick, and the Rev. A. Fuller, who had been engaged for the benefit of the inhabitants of Jamaica for some years, had devoted themselves to the service of God in benefiting the benighted people of Africa. They proceeded that day to Western Africa, and when the proceedings of the Convention should be brought to a close, they proceeded to Jamaica for the purpose of obtaining a supply of natives to labour in the same good cause. In the year 1820 he visited Africa with Dr Prince, and remained there fourteen months, visiting the inhabitants and making themselves acquainted with their condition. They also visited the Grain, Ivory, and Gold coasts, and passed about thirteen months in the island of Fernando Po, where they received much encouragement from the aborigines. They had determined to obtain a small steam-boat of thirty-six tons burthen, with which they intended to visit the large towns situate on the rivers. They hoped to do much in that part of the world for the prevention and destruction of slavery and the slave trade [applause].

The Rev. Mr MERRICK briefly addressed the convention.

The Rev. Mr FULLER said—He rose to introduce himself to them as one of those in whose behalf they had laboured; as one of the original slaves of Jamaica, who, having received the boon of liberty through their kind benevolence, and, what is infinitely more valuable, the blessing of the gospel of Christ, had devoted himself to the cause of abolition, that he might in some manner be of service to his poor countrymen in Africa, who are perishing for the want of the comforting knowledge [cheers]. He said that day for that part of the world, for the purpose of making Christianity known to the natives, and to aid in removing, and for ever destroying, the horrors of slavery [cheers].

The majority of the deputies then shook hands with the missionaries, who left the hall to depart on their voyage.

It was then resolved—

"That a committee be appointed to prepare two minutes, one to Thomas Clarkson, and one to William Allen, assuring these venerable, honoured, and distinguished philanthropists, of the sympathy and strong affection of this Convention, and of their unfeigned regret that the state of their health has deprived this meeting of the anticipated pleasure of seeing them in the chair."

A proposition that a committee be appointed to consider and report upon the case of the Creole, and also of fugitive slaves, was then put and agreed to, as was also the appointment of a committee to consider all documents relative to the free people of colour in the United States.

In moving the last resolution, Mr W. JOHNSON, chairman of the New York Committee of Vigilance, said that the free people of colour were not placed in such a position as would enable them to cope with their white brethren. They were excluded from all the liberal professions, and almost all the respectable trades. They were excluded from hotels, and even in the churches they were treated with indignity [hear, hear].

After a speech of some length from Sir GEORGE STRICKLAND, BART, M.P.,

The Rev. J. BLANCHARD said the free persons of colour were not excluded from all the colleges in the United States. There were about 100 of those institutions in the union, and persons of colour were admitted into eighteen or twenty of them, and into all the Roman catholic colleges [applause].

The Rev. JAMES SHERMAN introduced to the meeting Nik-ka-no-chee, a young Indian, dressed in the costume of his tribe, who was, he said, believed to be the son of Econ-Chatti-Mico, king of the Red Hills, and nephew of the celebrated Ocoola. The young chief and his father had been captured by the Americans in Florida, where their tribe was hunted down by bloodhounds. The boy was brought to England by Dr Andrew Welsh, and placed in his charge.

Dr ANDREW WELSH said—That little boy was taken prisoner by the Americans in the Seminole war, and was placed under his charge; as he appeared to be friendless, he took him into his own family, and educated him in the best way he could.

The Rev. J. LEAVITT said, he was an American. He loved his country, but not her crimes [applause]; and the crimes to which the people, represented by that child, were subjected in his country, were enough to make heaven weep. When he recollected the connexion which those crimes had with the business of that Convention, he felt he would not have done his duty if he did not cause that child to be introduced to them [cheers]. The Seminole war was undertaken solely in defence of slavery [hear, hear]. The fugitive slaves found a refuge among the Indians, and formed connexions with them, and at length it

was determined by the slave owners to exterminate the tribe.

Mr STANFIELD, of Belfast, proposed a vote of thanks to Dr Welsh, expressive of their admiration of his conduct, which was seconded by Dr BLANCHARD, and carried with acclamation.

After addresses from the Rev. G. SMITH, of Poplar, Mr HOWELLS, and the Rev. T. SPENCER, the Convention was adjourned.

Thursday.

The business was commenced on this day by Mr W. JOHNSON, of New York, who detailed some cases of fugitive slaves from the States to Canada. The following is an extract from his address:—

During a period of five and a half years, just terminated, 1,675 fugitive slaves had thus passed through his hands from the slave states to Canada. There was one instance in which the fugitive and his brother had escaped from their master, John Terry, in Covington, Louisiana. They fell in with some of the United States troops, who, for the reward offered by Terry, gave them up to his overseer, Jones. When brought back the brothers were subjected to the punishment which Terry and Jones usually inflicted on their slaves, viz., they were put into tobacco hogheads, through which large nails or spikes had been driven so as to project inside; the heads of the hogheads were then fastened on, and in this place of torment they were rolled round the slave quarters to strike terror into the other slaves [shame]. On every turn the nails were driven into the flesh till they were literally bleeding at every pore. When taken out they were rubbed down with brine and pepper, and then washed with rum. These brothers afterwards made their escape a second time, but one of them perished of the hardships he had endured in the woods shortly after his arrival in Pennsylvania; the other lived to get on to Canada, where he now is. That man had travelled on foot upwards of 3,000 miles in search of liberty.

He stated that the number of slaves who annually attempted to escape was at least 5,000, not a third of whom succeeded. They did not all seek the route of New York, but proceeded by Illinois and the Western States to Canada. They generally directed their course northward by the north star, and in the thickest forests they distinguished the north from the south by examining the trunks of the trees, which were covered with moss on that part of the surface facing the north.

Dr BOWRING, M.P., briefly addressed the meeting, and added his testimony to what had been already stated of the odious distinctions made between white and coloured persons.

The Rev. AMOS PHELPS, of Boston, next spoke at some length on the influence of slavery on religion and education in the slave states, and the progress of the anti-slavery cause in the literary institutions and religious bodies of the United States, and pointed out the white population of the slave states as immeasurably behind that of the free states in education, religion, and morality. He bore testimony to the highly commendable fact, that of all the religious persuasions, the Roman catholic was the only one in the States that universally, and without any exception, admitted the negro and the white man on the same terms of equality in their colleges, churches, &c. In that respect catholicity put American protestantism to the blush.

Mr FULLER and Mr A. BUFFAM, members of the society of Friends, corroborated these statements by reference to the conduct of religious bodies. The latter gentleman said, that if the society of Friends had maintained their principles in America, there would not now have been a slave in the United States.

The meeting then adjourned.

At the afternoon sitting Mr S. Gurney presided, supported by Lord Morpeth.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, in an eloquent speech, proposed three resolutions on the subject of communion with slave-holding churches, the last of which is as follows:—

"3. That this Convention, while it passes no judgment on the particular forms of action which different friends of the slave, in different circumstances, may adopt, hereby expresses its cordial sympathy and high admiration of all those who, in a Christian spirit, and by Christian methods, are sincerely and earnestly labouring to purify their respective religious connexions from all fellowship with, and support of, this heinous sin."

The Rev. Dr RITCHIE of Edinburgh seconded the resolution.

The Rev. J. BURKE, baptist minister, ably supported the sentiments embodied in the resolutions. He particularly deplored the support which slavery received in America from the baptist congregations.

Lord MORPETH trusted that, as he had come there to show his respect for the convention, and his sympathy in the object they were pursuing, and also to pick up some hints, rather than to speak on the present occasion, he trusted the Convention would not expect him to speak until Wednesday next, when he was to have his say on the subject.

Mr HOWELL of Pennsylvania, Dr MORRISON, and Captain C. STUART then addressed the meeting; the latter gentleman characterising the protestant American church as the bulwark of slavery.

The Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT addressed the meeting at considerable length on slavery in a general and financial point of view; and, in the course of his very able remarks, showed that the operation of slavery in the United States was to deny liberty even to the white population. Though the rights which the English Habeas Corpus act secured to the subject were not embodied in any one act passed by the American legislature, yet they were looked to as the inheritance of all British-descended men, and as inalienable to the Anglo-American people as though they were embodied in an act of the legislature. Those rights, then, were destroyed by the operation of slavery; and the Americans of the present day had completely departed from the spirit of their fathers in the principles of freedom and independence, for the establishment of which their fathers had successfully fought and bled.

Adjourned.

Friday.

After Mr Gurney had taken the chair, and some preliminary business had been transacted, the Rev. T. SPENCER, in an able speech, submitted the following resolution:—

"That, in the judgment of this Convention, the introduction of the slave-grown produce of Brazil and Cuba into competition with the free-grown produce of the British West India colonies and British India, is rendered necessary as an act of justice to all parties interested, and is in consistency with the principles on which the Convention is constituted."

Mr G. ANSTIE of Devon seconded the resolution; which was met by an amendment, moved by Mr E. N. BURTON, and seconded by Mr J. PAICH, to this effect:—

"That it is the opinion of this Convention that the introduction of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil into the British markets is calculated to encourage the systems of slavery which exist in the former countries, and of stimulating the African slave trade."

The discussion of this subject occupied the whole of the morning and afternoon sitting, and excited the greatest interest, which was attested by a full attendance of delegates. On the one side, Mr James Richardson of Leeds, Mr Blair of Bath, and Mr Cobden, supported the resolution on the grounds of principle and free trade; Captain Pilkington, Mr Buxton, Mr Fuller, Mr Scoble, and Mr Howell, advocated the amendment, affirming that the introduction of slave produce must give an impulse to slavery.

Mr COBDEN spoke at great length in support of the resolution. He said he had received, with his diploma appointing him as a delegate, a letter on the subject they were then discussing, from one of the greatest advocates of abolition in Manchester. He was requested to attend, particularly if any proposition was made which, by way of forwarding the cause of abolition, would have the effect of restricting trade. He strongly objected to calling upon government for assistance in the matter.

Here are we going to government to do by act of parliament what ought to be done by acting upon public opinion [cheers]. You propose to pass a law to prevent Brazilian sugar coming in here. It has been said that if you don't pass such a law, you encourage slavery. But suppose such a law passed, would it succeed? You support slavery as much in exporting as in importing [cheers, and cries of "No, no!"]. You say no. What is the course of trade? We send out cotton or other goods to the Brazils, and bring home in exchange their sugar, and send that sugar to Hamburg, and buy with it German wool [cheers]. Now, I say that you who wear the wool are as much encouraging slavery as if you consumed the sugar [great cheering]. We go and buy sugar from the Brazilians, and as we have a scruple of conscience in consuming it ourselves, we sell it again for tallow, hemp, wool, and other commodities; and the consumers of those articles are, I maintain, encouraging slavery. You must stop exporting as well as importing—you must isolate Great Britain to carry out your views; is that the way you propose to civilise the world [cheers]? That was not the way our Redeemer acted on earth; he mixed with the good and with the bad; and I say to you, mix with the bad as well as the good, and the force of your example will prevail [great applause]. There is not one of those friends who came from America that did not travel in vessels laden with slave-grown cotton or tobacco [cheering]. You are now the carriers of Brazilian sugar; but if you place restrictions upon commerce, you will assuredly throw that trade into the hands of the Germans. Government interference will do more harm than good, as it has done in every instance, except when it put down slavery in our own dominions [cheering]. Do not appeal to any immoral and wicked government to put down by brute force that which ought to be put down by public opinion. I find, in the present cabinet, men whose pockets are filled with money, the price of the flesh and blood of their fellow-creatures. Have no partnership with such men. Your plan is utterly impracticable. Commerce cannot be bound and cramped in the way you propose ["hear, hear," and applause]. Public opinion, not government assistance, was their proper weapon for putting down slavery.

Mr SCOBLE, at great length, supported the amendment.

Mr COBDEN said that slavery was to be put down by commercial intercourse, but what had commercial intercourse effected? Is not slavery sustained in America by the commercial intercourse of the country [cheers, and cries of "No, no!"]? In the name of humanity he called upon them to starve slavery to death in Cuba and the Brazils [great cheering].

On re-assembling in the afternoon, the Rev. J. LEAVITT at considerable length supported the resolution, deducing arguments in its favour from the United States and the West Indies.

Dr LUSHINGTON, in a long and able address, then proceeded to advocate the amendment, and adduced various illustrations in proof of the encouragement that the admission of slave-grown produce would give to slavery and the slave trade. He appealed to the convention not to increase the horrors of slavery, by passing such a resolution, for upon their consciences would rest the blame.

Mr E. MIALl thought these appeals altogether beside the mark. They all deplored and were all anxious to mitigate the horrors of slavery, and therefore these appeals to the feelings were foreign to the purpose. He held it to be the inalienable right of man to dispose of his labour where and how he would; and he who took from an individual the right of unrestricted traffic trespassed upon the fundamental rights of human nature [cheers]. It was their duty to keep fast hold to principle, and nothing could justify the slightest departure from it—the result might safely be left in the hands of God.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., in opposing the original resolution, said, that they had agreed that slavery was a crime of the deepest dye. He held it to be his duty to resist strenuously anything that would tend to further such a detestable traffic [hear, hear]. He would not bend to consequences, but to principles. If slave-grown produce were known to be such, it ought not to be purchased by the friends of the abolition of slavery [hear]. His firm conviction was that the ground the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society had taken three years ago was correct [cheers].

Dr RITCHIE of Edinburgh, and Mr ALEXANDER, the treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, cordially accorded in the sentiment expressed by Mr Sturge.

W. T. BLAIR, Esq., of Bath, suggested the propriety of not deciding the question before them at all, the probability being that there would be a large minority whichever way the matter was decided [hear]. With that object in view he begged to move the previous question, which would leave the matter before them just where it was before [hear, hear].

This proposal was seconded.

The Rev. Mr SPENCER declined to withdraw the original resolution, upon a proposition being made to that effect, unless the Convention would express their disapprobation [cries of "No"] or regret [renewed cries of "No"] at the resolution against the use of slave-grown sugar, adopted by the previous Convention in 1840. He adverted to the importance of the subject, as it was to engage the attention of the House of Commons on Thursday next, and any resolution of the Convention would be quoted by either party in whose favour it might appear to be, and carry, no doubt, its just weight [hear, hear]. They were, therefore, in a very critical position. He advocated coming to a decision.

After some further discussion the previous question was put by the Chairman, and carried by a large majority.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., read a report in reference to the anti-slavery cause in Portugal since the sitting of the last Convention, in continuation of the papers already laid before the Convention, of an exceedingly interesting character.

The report was adopted, and the Convention adjourned.

Saturday.

On this day the Rev. J. LEAVITT occupied the chair. The chief business which engaged the Convention was a report by Mr Scoble upon the island of Cuba, vindicating the conduct of Mr Turnbull; the passing of a resolution for the preparation "of an urgent representation to the British government on the present condition of those subjects of this country now illegally held in bondage in the Spanish West India and other foreign colonies, as well as of all in those colonies who have been unlawfully kept in slavery since the year 1820, together with their descendants;" and a reference of papers relative to slavery in America to a committee. Among the speakers were Mr Brotherton, M.P., Mr Ewart, M.P., Mr Richardson, of Leeds, Mr Scoble, and Mr Sturge. Mr Scoble presented a report on slavery in the Dutch colonies.

At the afternoon sitting S. GURNEY, Esq., in the chair, Mr ALEXANDER moved the appointment of a committee to prepare a report as to the best means of abolishing slavery in Denmark.

After some observations from J. W. C. PENNINGTON, and some other delegates, the motion was agreed to.

Mr SCALES read a report on the condition, capacity, &c., of the free people of colour.

The adoption of the report was moved and carried.

The CHAIRMAN here reminded the Convention that Lord J. Russell, when Secretary for the Colonies, had appointed a man of colour to be chief justice of Sierra Leone, an appointment which had fulfilled every expectation.

Mr SCOBLE then presented to the Convention Moses Grandby, a black man, who had purchased his freedom three times over, at 1,800 dollars. He was a fine, tall, athletic man, apparently between forty and fifty years of age. His appearance excited great interest.

Reports on the state of slavery in Paraguay and Cuba were then read by Mr Scoble, and adopted by the Convention, which then adjourned.

Monday.

Mr GURNEY having taken the chair, Mr MACGREGOR LAIRD, in proposing a series of resolutions in favour of voluntary emigration from Africa to the West India islands, alluded to the various means hitherto adopted for the suppression of slavery, and concluded by calling on the Convention to adopt his plan, not only as an act of humanity to the negroes, but of justice to the people of this country. The hon. delegate was frequently interrupted by cries of "time," and other demonstrations of impatience.

Mr JOHN MURRAY, of Glasgow, seconded the resolutions.

Colonel NICHOLL opposed the resolutions, as being calculated to increase the horrors of the slave system of Africa, but cordially agreed with the mover as to the absurdity of the means which our government had taken for its suppression.

The Rev. J. H. HINTON followed on the same side. The negroes were, he said, all the property or slaves of their chiefs, and should be bought from their chiefs, which would only make the wars in the interior of that country interminable.

Mr JOHN SCOBLE spoke against the resolutions. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had, he said, presented an address to Lord Palmerston, thanking him, not for treaties for the suppression of slavery, as those treaties could only be enforced by means at variance with the constitution of the society, but for his lordship's exercising the moral force of England to induce other nations to abolish slavery [great cheering].

The Rev. JOHN CLARKE, of Fernando Po, opposed the resolutions. He had seen, he said, negroes brought under the government system of emigration on board ship; not, certainly, by force, but by something very like it:—

They evidently had no voice in the matter; they were brought on board naked, and the men who brought them received a payment for them clothes, pieces of cloth, and other matters [hear]. But to prove the feelings of the men themselves, he would just mention the fact that six swam away at night, and escaped, and the others had to be kept below until the vessel got on the coast of a hostile tribe, when they were again allowed on deck. The unfortunate negroes themselves did not receive any payment; the kings and chiefs were paid. He did not think there could be any such thing as free emigration from Africa. The only thing which could be done for the African race, was to enlighten them [great cheering]; and they are prepared for the reception of instruction [cheers]. The reverend gentleman, in confirmation of this, read two letters from African chiefs, begging for some "small cotton tree and coffee to grow, and man to teach, to make country come up and proper, and sell for trade, and send man to teach book, and teach for understand God, all same white man, and if Queen do so, must do good things for her, and Queen and young King trust live long and proper. (Signed) King Ergo Honesty." The other epistle was in the same strain, from Eyamber, his Majesty the King of all the Blacks, who hoped "Queen Victoria and young Prince live long

time, and we shall get good friends." The letters caused much laughter and applause.

Mr LOUIS TAPPAN also opposed the resolutions.

Mr LAIRD replied.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolutions, and three hands were held up in their favour. The motion for their rejection was then put and carried.

The convention then adjourned.

At the afternoon sitting the Rev. Mr SCALES read a resolution, expressing sympathy with Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton at his inability, from illness, to attend the sittings of the Convention, and the high sense entertained of his exertions to abolish slavery.

The resolution was adopted.

A report on slavery in the Danish colonies was read. It recommended an appeal to the ruling authorities in Denmark for its suppression.

The CHAIRMAN (Samuel Gurney, Esq.) having intimated that he was called elsewhere by an indispensable engagement, took his final leave of the Convention in a brief address of an affecting nature.

Mr PEEKE (one of the vice-presidents) was then called upon to preside.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., moved the reference of a report on slavery in the French colonies to a committee. The duty and policy of an immediate and entire emancipation of slavery in the French dominions was inculcated.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., moved a resolution to the effect—

"That a committee be now appointed, to be composed, as far practicable, of persons representing the various sections of the Christian church, to prepare a faithful address to all who profess to be the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ in America and all those countries in which slavery is yet tolerated, expressing the sentiments of the Convention."

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Mr SCALES, and adopted.

The following gentlemen were named as the committee:—The Rev. Thomas Swan, of Birmingham (baptist); the Rev. Dr Ritchie, of Edinburgh (presbyterian); Joseph Sturge, Esq. (the society of friends); the Rev. Dr Campbell, of London (independent); the Rev. Mr Carlisle (editor of the *Christian Examiner*); W. T. Blair, Esq., late mayor of Bath; Vice-presidents, James Stanfield, Esq.; Samuel Bowley, Esq.; Thomas Garland, the Rev. James Wilson, Rev. Mr Harding, &c.

The Rev. HIRAM WILSON, who represented about 12,000 coloured people in Canada, made some statements respecting that portion of the Canadian population. They were referred to a committee to consider the use that should be made of them.

Mr SCOBLE suggested a question as to how the fugitive slaves in Canada would be affected by the tenth article of the Ashburton treaty. If a slave could be pursued into Canada, there would be no reason why he could not also be followed into England [hear, hear].

A motion to this effect was made and agreed to.

Mr SCOBLE read papers relative to the state of the abolition cause in the states of South America.

Adjourned.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION AT FINSBURY.

—It will be seen from an advertisement in another column, that the committee of the Finsbury Complete Suffrage association have resolved upon holding a complete suffrage tea party and *soirée* at White Conduit house, on Tuesday the 27th instant, in honour of the parliamentary supporters of complete suffrage. The chair will be taken by Joseph Sturge, Esq.; and in order to make the demonstration worthy of the metropolis, nearly one hundred friends and advocates of the cause, including its parliamentary supporters, have been invited to attend. The season chosen for this *soirée* is peculiarly appropriate, as the conventions that are now being held in London have brought together a large number of the friends of the human race, and the assistance of many of the gentlemen attending these meetings has already been secured. It is hoped that, as this is the first demonstration in the metropolis in honour of the principles of complete suffrage, it will be effective in promoting the cause, and awaking the zeal of other metropolitan boroughs. The well known reputation of many of those who have promised to attend, for eloquence, cannot fail of securing a large attendance.

We are also glad to learn that a number of the friends of complete suffrage in the different metropolitan boroughs have been invited to meet Joseph Sturge, Esq., on Thursday evening, to confer with him upon the best means for promoting the progress of these principles throughout the metropolis, and to make arrangements for securing an efficient organisation previous to the next general election. The place of meeting is, we understand, Anderton's hotel, Fleet street.

On Friday evening it is expected that Mr Vincent will deliver a lecture on complete suffrage at the Horns tavern, Kennington; after which a public meeting will be held for the purpose of forming an association for the borough of Lambeth, at which Joseph Sturge, Esq., will preside, and the Rev. T. Spencer, Mr Vincent, the Rev. Dr Ritchie, and other gentlemen are expected to attend.

MILTON, DEVON.—On Monday last Mr Vincent passed through the village of Milton (the seat of the Duke of Bedford), on his way to the tory borough of Launceston. Though the village is the property of the Duke, the church bells rung a merry peal on Mr Vincent's arrival. A number of the villagers and farmers assembled, and Mr Vincent addressed them briefly, explaining to them the principles and objects of the suffrage movement. The sentiments of his address were cordially welcomed.

LAUNCESTON, CORNWALL.—On Monday night an immense meeting of the inhabitants of this tory pocket

borough was held in the subscription room. Above 1,000 people were present, including a highly respectable body of the middle classes, and a large number of ladies. The tory town councillors had been talking about swearing in special constables, but they were not sufficiently stupid to reduce their talk to practice. Mr Vincent was received in the most enthusiastic manner. W. Morgan, Esq., was called to the chair. Mr Vincent then addressed the meeting in a speech of three hours and ten minutes duration, in illustration and defence of complete suffrage. The meeting was most enthusiastic; and though a large body of tories were present, a resolution approving of complete suffrage was carried unanimously amidst great cheering. A Complete Suffrage society is about to be formed; and, from the reception given to the principles, there can be little doubt of its success. This borough is, at present, completely in the hands of the Duke of Northumberland, who could, if he wished, secure the election of a broomstick. The democratic principle is the only thing likely to rouse the electors from their sleep of degradation.

PLYMOUTH, TUESDAY.—On Tuesday evening Henry Vincent lectured in the Theatre royal, on civil and religious liberty. To meet the expense of the theatre, 1s. 6d. was charged to the dress circle, 1s. to the boxes, 6d. to the pit, and 3d. to the gallery. Boxes, pit, and gallery, were crowded, and a numerous and respectable party occupied the dress circles. — Burnell, Esq., occupied the chair. Mr Vincent (who was very warmly received) addressed the meeting at great length. After an exposition of the principle of civil and religious liberty, he strongly urged the importance of political liberty, as a means of securing social and religious privileges. The respectable audience (amongst whom were a great number of ladies) received the sentiments advanced in the most cordial and enthusiastic manner. Thanks were unanimously awarded to Mr Vincent, and the chairman. The chairman expressed himself in favour of the principles set forth by the lecturer, and he felt convinced they must triumph.

MODBURY, DEVON.—On Wednesday, Henry Vincent visited this agricultural town to address the farmers and labourers of the neighbourhood on complete suffrage. A hustings was erected immediately in front of the baptist chapel. The windows being thrown open, the gallery of the chapel was filled by ladies, and every window of the adjacent houses was filled with spectators, while in the chapel yard and street there stood from 800 to 1,000 farmers, labourers, and shopkeepers. People attended from Kingsbridge and other villages. On the motion of the Rev. Mr Bussell, W. Pearse, Esq. (a respectable farmer), was called to the chair. The Chairman said he was pleased to preside over such a meeting, because Mr Vincent had come to teach them the justice of complete suffrage. He wished to see every man possess a vote—for he considered his labourers to be just as much entitled to vote as himself. Mr Vincent (who was loudly cheered) addressed the meeting for three hours. It is impossible to describe how heartily the people received the principles of complete suffrage. At the conclusion of his speech, three times three cheers were immediately given in approval of the sentiments advanced. The Rev. Mr Bussell moved a vote of thanks to Mr V., which was carried unanimously.

PLYMOUTH.—On Thursday night Mr Vincent gave his second lecture on complete suffrage in the theatre. The house was even more crowded than on the previous occasion. Its appearance from the stage presented a most animated appearance. A large number of ladies occupied the dress circle and boxes. Mr Vincent was received with long continued cheers. Jessy Adams, Esq., was called to the chair. Mr Vincent then came forward and explained, illustrated, and defended the principle of complete suffrage. The deepest interest was manifested by the audience, which was only broken by their warm and repeated plaudits. Thanks were unanimously voted to Mr Vincent. Indeed the audience seemed to be thoroughly impregnated with the democratic spirit. The suffrage union, it is expected, will soon be powerful in Plymouth among the electoral body.

OXFORD.—On Saturday afternoon (being market day) Henry Vincent attended here, by invitation, and addressed a large body of farmers and townspeople, from a shop window in the market place, in explanation of the principles and objects of the suffrage union. The farmers paid the greatest attention to the subject, and at the conclusion of his speech greeted him with three hearty cheers. Mr Vincent has received invitations from a number of important places in Devon and Cornwall, which, for the present, he has been reluctantly compelled to decline, having been deputed by the Peace society of Manchester, and the inhabitants of Tavistock, to attend the Peace convention in London. He proposes, however, to return to the west shortly. It is gratifying to know that complete suffrage grows in all directions.

A HINT TO BROTHER JONATHAN.—A young man of colour, almost of the pure negro race, is now keeping his terms for the bar, being a member of the hon. society of the Middle Temple. What a proud example it is for our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic to see this young man dining in the ancient hall, with so numerous an assemblage of white men (among whom are not only some of the most talented, but also of the most noble of England's sons), and by whom he is treated with the same courtesy and respect as if he were one of themselves. We hope this instance of the manner in which a man of colour is treated in the fatherland will not be without advantage to the much persecuted negro race and their descendants in the United States.

General News.

FOREIGN.

SPAIN.

The intelligence from Spain, we regret to state, is of an unfavourable character. Queen Christina and her friends at Paris have at last succeeded in rousing nearly the whole of Catalonia against the government of the Regent, and what is of more importance, a considerable portion of the troops sent to quell the disturbance in that province.

The whole garrison of Barcelona has gone over to the movement, and formally declared against Espartero. The same thing has occurred at Gerona, the garrison all declaring for the movement. Zurbano has left Catalonia, having been ordered to do so by the Captain-general. The garrison of Tarragona has likewise declared against Espartero.

In Valencia two serious tumults had taken place, during which the governor was killed, and his body dragged through the streets. Several other persons were killed, and the constituted authorities were completely overpowered. Of these unfortunate events, the *Paris Moniteur* and the *Messenger*, official journals, give the subjoined details on Saturday evening:—

"The insurrection broke out with success on the 11th inst. at Valencia, on the 12th and 13th at Barcelona, and on the 15th at Tarragona. In the two first of these cities the troops joined the people. Generals Valdez, Villalonga, and Legal, and the wife of General Zurbano embarked on board the English brig *Savage*, which left the port to convey them to Port Vendres, where they arrived in safety on the 17th. Zurbano has quitted Barcelona and marched for Saragossa, at the head of fourteen battalions.

"These results do not appear decisive against Espartero. He and everybody knew that disaffection prevailed in Catalonia. It remains to be seen whether assurances given by his friends, that his existence did not depend upon the state of feeling in that province or in Valencia, or Granada, or Malaga, are correct or otherwise."

It was generally believed at Paris, that government had received information of these events so far back as Wednesday, and that this intelligence caused the depression in the French funds which took place on that day. The publication of the unfavourable news caused a further depression.

Some fresh details have arrived of the events of Barcelona and Tarragona. On the 10th Zurbano attacked Reuss without success. On the 11th he brought twenty-four guns to play upon it, and Prim, to spare the town, retired to a village near, whilst the townsmen capitulated. On the 11th, however, the sergeants of the line had been induced to meet to publish a proclamation, and to beg the officers not to attack the people. The Captain-general yielded, and sent orders to Zurbano to withdraw, which he did, bringing fourteen battalions with him to Saragossa. Pajol, an officer in whom the insurgents trusted, was named governor of Montjouik, but the commander refused to receive him.

Of the conduct of the Regent the Madrid correspondent of the *Times* says:—

"The Regent has proved himself to be a prudent man. He sits unmoved amidst the war of political elements, the wreck of ministries, and the crash of Pronunciamentos. One friend counsels him to resign; another to declare military law, and try the traitors at the drum-head; while he, apparently knowing more of Spain, Spaniards, and human nature, than all around him, arrives at a decision different from everybody: he neither runs forward nor backward, nor starts to the right or left; he just does his duty, and preserves his position, and lets the traitors do their worst and commit themselves. They would give all they are worth to provoke him to violate the constitution, and declare himself dictator. They provoke him in every shape. They tell and print lies of him without measure or mercy, and he bears it all like a statue—or rather, like a hero."

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The King of Prussia has sent an answer to the request of the States of the Rhenish provinces to be allowed to publish reports of their sittings. His Majesty grants the request, and declares that the reports may be published without undergoing previous censorship; but the reporters are to take an oath that they will give a faithful and conscientious account of the proceedings.

We learn from Saumur that a violent storm burst over part of the department of the Maine-et-Loire, on the 5th instant, and did considerable damage. It commenced at Rosiers, on the right bank of the Loire, and took the direction of Mans. Hailstones fell as large, it is stated, as pigeons' eggs, and corn meadows and fruit trees were dreadfully injured. Huge trees were uprooted, and not a single bud remains on the vines.

A deplorable accident took place on Sunday morning in the Cathedral of Amiens. Seven men were employed fifty feet from the ground, in placing a sort of screen over one of the side entrances, to protect the persons engaged on some works of sculpture, when the cornice on which one end of the scaffolding rested gave way, and six of the men were precipitated to the ground. One man in falling caught at a projecting piece of work, which broke his fall, so that he escaped nearly without injury. Five others came to the ground with great violence; one of them was killed on the spot, three of them were despaired of, and the fifth, who fell on his feet, is suffering very acutely from the greatness of the shock. The man who remained above was saved by being at the other end of the scaffolding at the time it gave way, and had time to step on a neighbouring joist.—*Times*.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

ARCHES COURT.—On Thursday Sir H. Jenner Fust delivered sentence in the case of the Rev. Henry Erskine Head, vicar of Feniton, Devon, for having written and published a letter entitled "A view of the Duplicity of the Present System of Episcopal Ministration, occasioned by the Bishop of Exeter's circular on Confirmation." The sentence of the court was, that Mr Head should be suspended from duty and from the emoluments of his living for three

years from the 25th of June, and be condemned in the cost of the proceedings.

IMPORTANT DECISION.—The case of Sturge and another v. the Forth Marine Insurance company, which involved a question of some importance to the mercantile world, was argued in the court of exchequer this term. The plaintiffs had effected with the defendants an insurance upon a cargo of wheat from Barletta, in Italy, to Gloucester; the policy containing the usual memorandum, whereby corn and certain other merchandise was warranted free from average, unless general, or the ship should be stranded. On entering the Gloucester and Berkeley canal, at Sharpness's point, the vessel met with an accident, by coming in contact with another ship, and, in order to prevent her going down in deep water, she was hauled on to the mud inside the basin, where she remained until the next tide, and the cargo sustained much damage. The defendants' counsel contended that this was not a peril of the sea, and that the vessel must be considered to have arrived in safety at her port of destination. The court, however, being of opinion that a stranding had taken place within the meaning of the policy, gave judgment for the plaintiffs for £807, with interest, the amount of damage done to the cargo.—*Aris' Birmingham Gazette*.

WOOD PAVEMENT.—The Marylebone vestry, on Saturday, negatived a motion proposed for rescinding a previous resolution not to proceed any further with the wood pavement in that parish for three years.

VICTORIA PARK.—On Saturday, the surveyors recommenced their labours in making estimates of the value of property on the site of this park, at Bethnal green, which, in some instances, the proprietors are disposed to litigate. It has been decided by the commissioners that the principal entrance shall be through Bonner's Hall fields, opposite the Greyhound inn, in Old Ford lane, than which no spot could be more available for the inspection of the beauties of the natural and artificial picturesque which the park will afford.

THE REPEAL AGITATION.

The following declaration against the repeal agitation in Ireland appears in the *Times* of Monday:—

At a meeting of the Irish conservative peers and members of parliament, held at the Earl of Wicklow's on the 17th of June, 1843,

It was unanimously resolved:—

"That this meeting deeply deplores the present alarming state of Ireland.

"That they consider the multitudinous assemblages now taking place in various parts of Ireland to be dangerous to the public peace, and calculated to create well-founded terror in the minds of her Majesty's well-disposed subjects of all classes in that country.

"That in consequence, the ordinary occupations of the population are suspended, and the public mind kept in a state of painful and dangerous excitement.

"That under these circumstances the undersigned noblemen and gentlemen feel it to be their duty to declare, individually and collectively, their anxious desire and firm determination to use their best exertions, in co-operation with her Majesty's government, for the purpose of upholding the law, preserving the public peace in that part of the United Kingdom, and allaying that dangerous excitement to which they have referred.

"Signed,

Downshire, Chairman	Belmore
Thomond	Lucan
Ely	Lorton
Devon	Bandon
Wicklow	Crofton
Clare	Bloomfield
Courtown	Dunsany
Donoughmore	Beresford
Charleville	Blayney
Glengall	Carberry
Stradbroke	Castlemaine
E. Taylor, M.P.	W. R. Ormsby Gore, M.P.
Claude Hamilton, M.P.	J. H. Hamilton, M.P.
J. Irving, M.P.	W. H. Gregory, M.P.
Courtenay, M.P.	E. J. Shirley, M.P.
M. Archdall, M.P.	W. Verner, M.P.
E. Conolly, M.P.	Northland, M.P.
Bernard, M.P.	A. Lefroy, M.P.
E. Hayes, M.P.	C. B. Leslie, M.P.
J. Boyd, M.P.	F. Shaw, M.P.
H. Bruen, M.P.	George A. Hamilton, M.P.
M. Bateson, M.P.	Adare, M.P.
E. Grogan, M.P.	George Wyndham (of Pet-
Quintin Dick, M.P.	worth)
C. B. Baldwin, M.P.	Alexander Perceval."
W. Ormsby Gore, M.P.	

POLICE TYRANNY.—A young man, named Thomas Osborn, who undertook to obtain signatures to the young men's petition against the Factories bill, took up his station in Oxford street, near Hanover square, a short time since. He had a table on which he placed sheets for signatures, which was put in such a position as not to obstruct in any way the thoroughfare, as might be proved from the fact that there were a number of stalls standing near, some of which were a yard further from the wall (which was a dead one) than this. Before the young man had been there a quarter of an hour a policeman (supposed to be C 61) came up in a violent passion and ordered him to move away, but which he hesitated to do, conceiving that he had as much right to stand there as those men who exposed pictures, &c., for sale. The uncalculated interference of the policeman attracted a crowd, and another policeman (C 151) coming to the spot, one seized the man in a very rough manner, and the other his table, and unceremoniously dragged him to the station house in Vine street, where the charge was taken by the inspector, which was that of obstructing the pavement in Oxford street. He was then taken to Marlborough street police office, but arrived too late for the magistrate. He was therefore conducted back to the station house, and cruelly kept there, in a noisome underground cell, like a felon, during the whole night, without anything to

eat, or even a bundle of straw on which to lie down. Bail he could not procure at that part of the town, and the police refused to send to the city unless he paid for it, which he was unable to do. After being thus confined eighteen hours, he was, with thirteen other prisoners, marched along the streets to the Marlborough street police office, where he had to stand for nearly two hours among a set of ragamuffins, before his case was called on. He was then placed at the bar before Mr Maltby, the sitting magistrate. The policeman having been sworn, stated that the prisoner had obstructed the pavement, and caused a mob to assemble, and that when told to go away, he kept holding up a pen, and saying, "Who'll sign the petition?" The policeman described the table as being nearly double the size it really was, and gave a false colouring to the whole matter, with a view to justify his conduct. The magistrate asked the prisoner what he had to say, to which he replied, that his table did not make any obstruction, &c. He was interrupted by the magistrate, who said, "that if he promised not to offend again, he was discharged." The young man attempted to speak, but he was hurried out of the court by the officers, and denied the privilege of defending himself. A more gross case of injustice and hardship was never heard of. The poor fellow was imprisoned for more than twenty hours for no offence whatever. Such conduct as that witnessed in this case will not tend to increase respect either for the magistrate or the police. Whether the magistrate or the police were influenced by the object of the young man (obtaining signatures to a petition against the abominable Factories bill) or not, we leave our readers to determine; of one thing, however, it is certain, that such conduct deserves the reprobation of every hater of oppression.—*From a Correspondent*.

DEFINITION OF AN ALLIGATOR.—On Friday, at the Greenwich Police court, in the course of a trifling case, one of the witnesses, on being asked what he was, replied "An alligator." Mr Jeremy—"An alligator! Why what on earth do you mean—what do you do?" Witness—"Why, I work under the earth and in the water." Mr Jeremy—"Do you really mean to say you are amphibious? I suppose you mean to say you are a navigator?" Witness—"No, no; I'm an alligator" [laughter]. Mr Finch—"Perhaps, sir, he means an excavator." Witness—"Yes, that's it; I'm an ex-vacate-or [laughter], except just now, for I look out at night over some works by the water side, to see if I can catch any people on them." Mr Jeremy—"Well, that is certainly something more like the labour of an alligator." The witness subsequently said he saw some men jump on the monkey. Mr Jeremy—"Good gracious me! one would think you had been brought up in a menagerie. Pray what is your definition of a monkey?" "Why a barge wot's covered over." The worthy magistrate told the alligator he might go and look after his monkey, which he did, apparently glad at his escape.

INFAMOUS OUTRAGE.—A letter in the *Times* says that as a lady was crossing Bedford square one day last week, some person threw over her a large quantity of oil of vitriol, totally destroying her dress (which was of black satin), but fortunately not injuring her person. One would hardly think that, with so efficient a police, such an occurrence could take place without detection in the open day; but, in this instance, and others which have recently occurred in this particular neighbourhood, the miscreants have hitherto escaped their vigilance.

PROVINCIAL.

VISIT OF THE LEAGUE TO NORTHUMBERLAND.—After the prorogation of parliament, Mr Cobden and other eminent members of the league will visit Northumberland, to discuss the question how far the corn laws have benefited the farmer and the agricultural labourer. It is expected that their reception will be worthy of the high character that Northumberland holds in the estimation of the agricultural community.—*Gateshead Observer*.

MR COBDEN'S VISIT TO KENT.—It will be seen by an advertisement in another part of our paper, that Mr Cobden intends meeting the farmers of Kent, at Penenden heath, on Thursday, the 29th instant, to discuss the corn law question; where we trust the advocates of monopoly will make their appearance, to give a reason for the faith they profess. We would especially call the attention of Mr Keer Brown, of Folkestone, to the invitation of Mr Cobden.—*Dover Chronicle*.

THE LEAGUE AT HUNTINGDON.—For some time past the walls of this town were placarded with bills announcing the intention of Messrs Moore and Cobden to pay a visit to Huntingdon, for the purpose of addressing the farmers of this district upon the subject of the corn laws. All the influence of the aristocracy and squirearchy of the neighbourhood was used with the tradesmen of the town to induce them to attend and oppose Mr Cobden; or, if they were favourable to the repeal of the corn laws, to absent themselves from the meeting. Mr Cobden was, however prevented by indisposition from attending, and Mr Bright supplied his place. The Earl of Sandwich was present, and used his influence on behalf of the pro-corn-law party. The meeting, which was to have been held at the institution, was adjourned to the open air, when above 5,000 assembled. Mr Rust, a landowner, was called to the chair, and was supported by a large number of gentlemen. Mr Bright spoke first, and argued eloquently in favour of free trade. The following extract is a specimen of this style.

Have you farmers, who voted for the landowners, or the landowners themselves, given me any protection in my trade [cries of "Yes, yes," "No, no"]? I say you have not given me the slightest! I sell my goods in all the markets of the world, and

yours among the rest, cheaper than you can buy them in any other country—than you can buy them on the face of the earth. My trade has flourished infinitely more than yours—many more men, in proportion to the numbers engaged, having acquired a competency from the cotton trade than from farming (cries of "Hear, hear," from the opposite waggon). And why? Because it does not go upon crutches, and is not bolstered up by the State. It is a delusion to think that your trade can be benefited by politics; have nothing to do with party politics from henceforth and for ever. There is not a man present who can place his hand upon his heart, and say, he does not believe that the farmers have been tricked by political jugglery (cries of "Hear, hear," and "No, no"). The men whom you elect derive more advantage from the present ministry being in power than anything they can obtain from the corn laws. This government had hundreds and thousands of offices at its disposal, there being no less than 800 appointments in India alone; and the political landlord says, "By going to parliament I can, by-and-by, give up this farmers, and get my son or brother instituted into some lucrative office, and settle myself down then in a well-feathered nest." It becomes very much like Tom Moore's description of the whigs upon one occasion, and the same would equally apply to the Tories—

"As bees, on flowers alighting, cease their hum,
So, settling upon places, whigs grow dumb"
(laughter and cheers).

Mr James Rust, banker, of Huntingdon, moved a resolution in support of the corn laws, on account of peculiar burdens, which was seconded. Mr Moore, after an eloquent address, moved a counter resolution against all monopolies, which was seconded by Capt. Dukesley, a landed proprietor. Mr Day, a lawyer, argued in favour of the first resolution. A division was taken at the conclusion of this gentleman's speech upon Mr Moore's amendment, which the Chairman declared was negatived by the meeting. This decision was protested against by Mr Moore and the anti-corn-law party, who strenuously insisted that the victory was on their side.

SHEFFIELD ELECTIONS.—It having been understood, that there was a probability of the resignation of our borough members about the close of the present session, we may now state, that their retirement is not likely to take place at present. With regard to the course they may take next session, it would be premature now to indulge in any anticipations.—*Sheffield Independent*.

LEICESTER PROPRIETARY SCHOOL.—The annual meeting of the friends and proprietors of this institution was held on Tuesday morning last, in the large room, and was attended by a respectable company, including some of the magistrates, town councillors, &c., of the borough. The mayor of the borough (W. Biggs, Esq.), was called to the chair. The Chairman thus adverted to the distinctive character of the institution:—A few years since, a strong feeling prevailed respecting the improvement of the systems of education, and many gentlemen met in this and many other towns, for the purpose of proposing and carrying into effect such improvements; but unfortunately the principles on which, in this town, they proposed to act, rendered it impossible for those who valued religious liberty to support them, and a schism took place, and it was to this circumstance that this school owed its origin, and it had been conducted since that time on broad, and liberal, and catholic principles. There was no subscription to any doctrine or test, but any parent might send his child to this school without such difficulties, which was a great blessing to the population of this town, and would be highly useful both to this and succeeding generations. The Rev. Dr Hoppus, professor of philosophy in the university of London, rose and said he had not come to the town with the view of making a speech, but for the purpose of examining the young men of this institution, and he should have the pleasure of reading an official report which he and two rev. gentlemen with whom he had the honour of being associated in this examination, had agreed upon as the result of it. The report was then read, expressing the highest satisfaction of the examiners at the result of the examination, which comprised the Latin and Greek languages, mathematics, trigonometry, &c. The report was signed by John Hoppus, LL.D., F.R.S., professor of philosophy in University college, London; by the Rev. J. Brown, vicar of St Mary's, Leicester; and by the Rev. H. Arnold, B.A., of Cambridge. When it is recollected that the education at this institution does not comprise religious instruction, and is therefore perfectly unsectarian, it is as creditable to such clergymen to display so truly a catholic spirit when meeting dissenters on neutral ground, as it is to the honour of the latter, who while boldly maintaining their distinctive opinions, are willing to co-operate in promoting the education and independence of the human mind. The Rev. J. Brown, the Rev. H. Arnold, Dr Noble, J. Riley, Esq., Mr J. F. Hollings, and other gentlemen afterwards addressed the meeting, and prizes were distributed to successful competitors for proficiency in geology, mathematics, English studies, botany, drawing, natural philosophy, physiology, and writing. After various admirable addresses the meeting separated. It is a matter of surprise that institutions based on such sound and enlightened principles as the above have not become more popular throughout the country.

THE HAMPDEN MEMORIAL.—Upon the 18th of June, 1843, John Hampden received his death wound upon Chalgrove field. The commemoration, which took place on Monday, excited much interest. Parties from the counties of Berks, Oxford, and Buckingham assembled to do honour to the name of the patriot, and the neighbourhood of the monument presented the appearance of a fair. The following is a description of the monument:—

"Upon the side facing Warpsgrove is placed the medallion portrait of the patriot, carved in marble by Scouler; on the opposite side are engraved his arms. The third side exhibits a list of the subscribers to the monument; and the fourth side bears the following inscription, written by Lord Nugent:—

"Here, in this field of Chalgrove,
JOHN HAMPDEN,

"After an able and strenuous, but unsuccessful resistance in parliament, and before the judges of the land, to the measures

of an arbitrary court, first took arms, assembling the levies of the associated counties of Buckingham and Oxford, in 1643.

"And here, within a few paces of this spot, he received the wound of which he died, fighting in defence of the free monarchy and ancient liberties of England, June 18th, 1643.

"In the two hundredth year from that day, this stone was raised in reverence to his memory."

"The monument stands at the junction of the lane leading from Chalgrove village with the Oxford and Wallingford road, in the corner of a large field now under a wheat crop. An open plain of some extent stretches round on all sides save one, where an avenue of somewhat scrubbed trees and thick bushes, approaching close to the pillar, marks the exact spot where Hampden was mortally wounded."

The only ceremony was the removal, by Lord Nugent, of a cloth concealing a medallion portrait of the patriot, exclaiming, "May this monument last to all posterity, and remain undisturbed and unhurt by our children's children. Three loud cheers were given in honour of the occasion, followed by three cheers more for Lord Nugent, the originator of the memorial. At the dinner, Lord Nugent presided; and among the company were Sir John Easthope, M.P., Mr Tancred, M.P., the Rev. Dr Hampden, Sir Samuel Hancock, Lowndes Stone, Esq., John Lloyd, Esq., with a number of members of the university of Oxford, and gentlemen from the various adjacent towns. A considerable number of ladies were also present. Lord Nugent recounted the principal incidents in the life of Hampden. Sir J. Easthope made a speech on the liberty of the press; and the Rev. Dr Hampden made a feeling address upon the character and noble qualities of his ancestor; and after various other toasts and acknowledgments, the meeting separated.

REBECCA AND HER DAUGHTERS.—Not only (says the *Welshman*) does Rebecca laugh to scorn all magisterial mandates, setting at defiance policemen, special constables, pensioners, and militia-men, but when this motley posse of county and borough is sent against her, she commands and they obey; she tells them to take part with her and her retainers in the work of demolition which she has begun, and they do so. This is no exaggeration; it is a simple fact—one of the richest on record. It occurred in Carmarthenshire, on Monday last, at Tallog, about seven o'clock in the morning. Some more gates have been destroyed within a few days. In Cardiganshire "Becca" has out-Canuted Canute, having commanded the stream of the Tivy—which not only obeyed but became tributary to her. The lady's boldness on the banks of this river, it is reported, was embellished by a demand for refreshment—superadded to one for the unlimited privilege of diversion and unconditional dominion of the water!—while Pembrokeshire, as everybody knows, is the paradise in which it is believed Rebecca was born, and where it is known she delighted to dwell. In short, it would seem that the assertion of the supremacy of the laws is all nonsense; the potentiality of anti-turnpikeism is proclaimed; our lady the Queen hides her diminished head before our lady Becca—the former is only Victoria Regina; the latter is *Regina Rebecca*, the most puissant of sovereigns. The following is the narrative referred to:—

On Monday morning three policemen, some special constables, and about thirty-five pensioners, headed by Mr David Evans, road surveyor, started about three o'clock, on their journey to Tallog, to levy on the goods of John Harries, of Tallog mill, for non-payment of tolls. Just before they reached Tallog, they discerned a man standing on a bank above the road, evidently watching them, and being disguised by wearing a woman's cap. As soon as they discovered him he disappeared behind the bank, and shortly afterwards they heard a shot fired. On approaching Tallog mill, they observed about forty persons standing in groups and watching their movements. Mr David Evans went up to the door of the house, in which the levy was to be made, and found it locked; after some little delay the key was obtained and the levy effected, two boxes being taken. A man was observed crossing a bridge, close by with a gun on his shoulder, in company with two others. Mr David Evans went up to him and asked him where he was going, and what he was doing with the gun; on his replying that he should go where he pleased and do what he liked with the gun, Evans, assisted by policeman D. Woolcock, and E. Richards, a special constable, forcibly took possession of the gun, which was found not loaded. They then commenced their journey homewards, but had not proceeded far when they were stopped by a mob of between 200 and 300 persons, all armed; some with guns (105 of which were counted) others with hatchets, scythes, crowbars, pitchforks, &c., &c. About half of them were variously disguised—some in women's clothes with their faces blackened, others having horse-hair wigs, while many wore masks. They appeared to be well organised, being divided into companies, and acting under different leaders, whom they obeyed most implicitly; the majority of them were young men, although there were several men aged about sixty, some women appeared to be encouraging the men. Having commanded the constables and pensioners to stop, they desired them to give back the boxes, which was done upon Mr Thomas Thomas, shopkeeper of Tallog, giving his word that the amount of the fine and costs should be paid in the course of the day. They then demanded that the constables should give up their arms if they had any, and said they should not proceed until they did. Upon this Mr David Evans drew out a brace of pistols, and accompanied by policemen Martin, Woolcock, and Aubrey, and special constable E. Richards, attempted to force his way through the mob. They did force their way for about two hundred yards, when they were surrounded, and Richards was knocked down and kicked severely while on the ground; his staff and pistol were taken away and flung into the river. Evans was seized by three athletic men, and a hatchet being held over his head by one man, while two others presented muskets at his face, "Rebecca," who on this occasion was a short, thick set man, commanded him upon pain of instant death to deliver up his pistols. He gave up one, and was compelled to fire off the other in the air. The mob then suffered the constables and pensioners to proceed, accompanying them as far as Trawshaw.

GREAT CHORAL MEETING.—On Saturday evening last, the first great choral meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire workmen's singing classes, under the patronage of the Queen Dowager, the high sheriff of the county, and nearly all the members of parliament for divisions and boroughs within the county, was held in the Free-trade hall, Peter street, Manchester. In all, the numbers are stated at about 1,500 individuals. Until that morning these classes had never met for rehearsal, or in a body of more than a few hundreds. Between the first and second parts, an address was presented to Mr Hullah, being introduced by Mr Andrew Paton. The singing was conducted by Mr Hullah, and Mr Weston, of Manchester—and the concert gave much satisfaction to all concerned.

There is a report current, for which we do not vouch, but think it has some grounds, that several infantry regiments will be augmented to 12 companies each; and that as corps go abroad a new depot system will be gradually adopted.—*Naval and Military Gazette*.

REV. ROBERT MOFFAT.—We have much pleasure in announcing the arrival of the ship *Fortitude*, on the 10th April, at the Cape, with this devoted and intrepid missionary, his family, and associates.

IRELAND.

MR O'CONNELL AT MALLOW.—Another great demonstration took place at Mallow, on Sunday, the 10th inst., at which 400,000 persons are said to have been present. One account says the procession went on in the most admirable order, amid the vehement cheering of the myriads, and the music of forty bands. The heights and fields were crowded with spectators, and, according to the estimate of the best calculators, there could not have been less than 400,000 persons congregated when the procession reached Mallow. The procession having gone through the town, returned to a large area, where a platform was erected, and where the meeting was held. The platform was crowded, and a countless multitude occupied the space in front. Mr O'Connell made a long speech, which was more violent in its tone, and more unsparing in its abuse of the "Saxons," than any previous addresses. This was, however, surpassed by his speech after dinner, which took place at the Commercial hotel, and was attended by upwards of 600 persons. He commenced in the following strain:—

The time is come when we must be doing [cheers]. Gentlemen, you may soon learn the alternative to live as slaves or die as freemen ["Hear," and tremendous cries of "We'll die freemen!" mingled with cheers]. No, you will not be freemen if you be not perfectly in the right, and your enemies in the wrong [cries of "So they are"]. I think I perceive a fixed disposition on the part of some of our Saxon traducers to put us to the test [cheers]. The efforts already made by them have been most abortive and ridiculous [hear]. In the midst of peace and tranquillity, they are covering over our land with troops [hear]. Yes, I speak with the awful determination with which I commenced my address in consequence of news received this day. There was no house of Commons on Thursday, for the cabinet was considering what they should do, not for Ireland, but against her [cheers]. But, gentlemen, as long as they leave us a rag of the constitution, we will stand on it [tremendous cheering]. We will violate no law, we will assail no enemy; but you are much mistaken if you think others will not assail you [a voice—"We are ready to meet them!"]. To be sure you are [cheers]. Do you think that I suppose you to be cowards or fools [cheers]? I am speaking of our being assailed [hear, hear]. Thursday was spent in an endeavour to discover whether or not they should use coercive measures [hear, hear, and hisses]. Yes, coercive measures; and on what pretext [cheering]? Was Ireland ever in such a state of profound tranquillity [cries of "Never!"]?

Towards the conclusion of his speech, he endeavoured to fan the flames of hatred of the "Saxons" by an historical allusion.

Yes, and Peel and Wellington may be second Cromwells. They may get his blunted truncheon, and they may (oh, sacred heaven!) enact on the fair occupants of that gallery (pointing to the ladies' gallery) the murder of the Wexford ladies. But I am wrong, they never shall [tremendous cheering and waving of handkerchiefs]. What alarms me is the progress of injustice. That ruffianly Saxon paper, the *Times*—[loud groans]—the number received by me this day presumes to threaten us with such a fate. But let it not be supposed that I made that appeal to the ladies as a flight of my imagination. No, the number of 300 ladies, the beauty and loveliness of Wexford, the young and old, the maid and the matron, when Cromwell entered the town by treachery—300 inoffensive women, of all ages and classes, were collected round the cross of Christ, erected in a part of the town called the Bull Ring; they prayed to Heaven for mercy, and I hope they found it: they prayed to the English for humanity, and Cromwell slaughtered them ["Oh, oh," and great sensation]. I tell you this, 300 of the grace and beauty and virtue of Wexford were slaughtered by the English ruffians—sacred heaven! [tremendous sensation, and cries of "Oh, oh!"] I am not at all imaginative when I talk of the possibility of such occurrences anew; but yet I assert there is no danger of the women, for the men of Ireland would die to the last in their defence [here the entire company rose and cheered for several minutes]. We were a paltry remnant then, we are millions now [renewed cheering].

ANTI-REPEAL MEETING.—A meeting of the Irish Metropolitan Conservative society was held at Dublin on Wednesday, for an anti-repeal demonstration. Lord Rathdown was in the chair; and several leading titled and untitled conservatives were present. In consequence, however, of the chief leaders of the Orange faction, the meeting did not excite very great interest. A string of resolutions was passed, asserting the readiness of the protestant population of Ireland to maintain the connexion with Great Britain, and declaring "That to the mistaken policy which has hitherto dictated repeated concessions to a fallen and ambitious religion, is to be attributed the present formidable and organised agitation carried forward throughout this country; and that a perseverance in the same unwise and pusillanimous policy can only result in the dismemberment of the empire." Mr J. Butt used some violent language towards Mr O'Connell, and said, "In the name of the protestants of Ireland, I defy him!" which was vehemently cheered.

THE CLARE DEMONSTRATION.—The reporter of the *Times* writes as follows:—"There appears to be no reasonable doubt but that the display of physical force at Ennis, called together at the nod of Mr O'Connell and of his devoted sacerdotal allies, far exceed in magnitude, in desperate enthusiasm, and fixedness of purpose, any of the preceding demonstrations of the present month, not excepting Cork or Tipperary. The numbers are variously stated; some put them down at 500,000, others at 700,000; but allowing the fullest scope for exaggeration, it is idle to deny that, because there may have been 100,000, 200,000, or even 300,000 less than stated, therefore such assemblies, or their objects, are one whit the less dangerous or unconstitutional. Judging from the language of Mr O'Connell, who grows daring in proportion to the inertness of government, it really seems apparent, to the most moderate men, that the day has arrived for a check to be put to an agitation which only "bides its time" to terminate in open rebellion. The meeting of Clare was also

remarkable for the number of respectable, or rather influential, persons who took part in the proceedings, there being ten county magistrates present, while, better than all, the money, 'the real sinew—the arms,' as Mr O'Connell says, flowed in in abundance. £1,200 at Ennis, £600 at Murroe, and heaven knows how much from Athlone on Sunday; and no one need wonder if the repeal rent for the next week far exceed £3,000.

Mr O'CONNELL IN MURROE.—The *Limerick Reporter* of Tuesday gives the following account of Mr O'Connell's progress from that city to Murroe:—"Mr O'Connell, accompanied by honest Tom Steele, arrived in Limerick last evening about six o'clock, in his traveling carriage and four horses; and, having stopped at Cruise's hotel, was waited on shortly after by many of the most respectable of our citizens, who were anxious to pay their respects to him. He left Limerick this morning for Murroe shortly after eleven o'clock, accompanied by the Very Rev. Dr Costello and Mr Steele, and had not proceeded far on the way when he was met by hundreds and thousands of his admiring countrymen. Croom, Abington, Newport, Cahircionish, Boher, Barrington's Bridge, Castleconnell, Ahane, Pallasgreen, Ulla, Ballybricken, and other villages and districts, poured forth their tributary streams of human beings, and headed by their temperance bands, until the air itself resounded with shouts of gladness and the sounds of merry music. As the cavalcade advanced, the throng became more numerous. The little cabins of the poor on the road side, and the dwellings of the farmers in the midst of their cultivated fields and gardens, were decorated with green boughs, and in many places triumphal arches erected across the road, with such mottoes as 'Cade mille faulthe,' and 'O'Connell for ever.'" At the meeting which took place, £618 2s. 4d. was presented to Mr O'Connell as their contribution towards the repeal rent.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, June 16.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV, cap. 85:—
Wesleyan chapel, Sherborne, Dorsetshire. J. Melmoth, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

WALNE, JAMES COLE, late of Stowmarket, Suffolk, wine merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BLACK, DONALD, GORE, JOHN ALFRED, and TAYLOR, ROBERT, Sambrook court, City, merchants, June 24, July 28: solicitors, Mr Ashurst, 137, Cheapside, and Messrs Cooper and Wray, Manchester.

BURTON, JOHN, Sheffield, butcher, June 27, July 8: solicitor, Mr Ryalls, Sheffield.
CHAPMAN, GEORGE, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, grocer, June 30, July 31: solicitors, Messrs Norton and Son, New street, Bishopsgate.

DOBSON, JOHN LLOYD, Kidderminster, carpet manufacturer, June 26, July 25: solicitor, Mr J. Suckling, Birmingham.

DONNELLY, JOHN, late of Newry, Ireland, but now of Liverpool, merchant, June 30, July 28: solicitors, Mr J. Gunnery, Liverpool, and Messrs Maughan and Kennedy, 100, Chancery lane, London.

FARMER, EDWARD, Wellington, Shropshire, tea dealer, June 30, July 19: solicitor, Mr Marcy, Wellington.

HALL, WILLIAM, Birmingham, shoe maker, June 30, July 19: solicitors, Mr A. Harrison, Birmingham, and Mr E. A. Chaplin, 3, Gray's inn square, London.

HASKINS, WILLIAM, Kingswood, Gloucestershire, grocer, June 30, July 28: solicitors, Messrs Clarke and Co., Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Mr H. W. Hall, Bristol.

LAMPEN, THOMAS, Devonport, linen draper, June 23, July 19: solicitors, Mr Stogdon, Exeter, Messrs Beer and Rundle, Devonport, and Mr Penkwill, West street, Finsbury circus, London.

LEESON, GEORGE, Birmingham, factor, June 24, July 27: solicitor, Mr Lowe, Birmingham.

STODOLLEY, JAMES, Bridport, Dorsetshire, twine manufacturer, June 23, July 19: solicitors, Mr Stogdon, Exeter, Mr E. Nicholson, Bridport, and Mr G. Brace, 24, Surrey street, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GOPPE, ROBERT, and Co., Glasgow, merchants, June 21, July 11.
HOBBS, ANDREW, Drips, Lanarkshire, brick maker, June 27, July 13.

LAURENCE, ALEXANDER, Inverkeilley, farmer, June 20, July 11.
MURRAY, CHARLES, Leith, builder, June 22, July 13.
PIPER, EDWARD, Edinburgh, coach contractor, June 23, July 14.

Tuesday, June 20.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINS, JOHN, Birmingham, jeweler, June 20, August 9: solicitors, Messrs Colmore and Beale, Birmingham.

BURTON, RICHARD, 27, Wood street, Cheapside, City, silk warehouseman, June 27, August 2: solicitor, Mr Goddard, King street, Cheapside.

BOULTON, RICHARD, Farmanby, Yorkshire, innkeeper, June 30, July 21: solicitors, Mr Thomas Bointon, Pickering, Yorkshire, and Messrs Dunning and Stawman, Leeds.

BENNETT, JOHN LAOON, Shiffall, Shropshire, chemist, June 30, July 28: solicitor, Edward Bennett, Wolverhampton.

BROWN, ROBERT, Sunderland, butcher, July 6, August 2: solicitors, Mr Burn, Sunderland, and Messrs Crosby and Compton, Church court, Old Jewry, London.

CLARK, CHARLES, 8, Tower street, Westminster road, baker, June 29, July 31: solicitor, Mr James Kine, Gracechurch street.

CANTER, ALBINUS, 70, Lower Thames street, City, ship broker, June 30, August 2: solicitors, Messrs Sherwood and Co., 190, Tooley street, Southwark.

COOKE, WILLIAM, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted spinner, June 30, July 21: solicitors, Mr Tolson, Bradford, and Mr Blackburn, Leeds.

DAVILLE, THOMAS WOOD, Sheffield, stag scale cutter, July 1, 27: solicitors, Mr Unwin, Sheffield, and Mr Blackburn, Leeds.

FROST, JOHN, Bristol, baker, July 6, August 10: solicitor, Mr Gringdon, Bristol.

GRAY, LAVENDER JOHN, 50, German street, St James's, tailor, July 6, 28: solicitor, Mr J. Whittaker, 7, Fumival's inn, Holborn.

HUXLEY, THOMAS, Tunstall, Staffordshire, tailor, June 26, July 25: solicitors, Mr W. Williams, Stoke-upon-Trent, and Mr John Smith, Birmingham.

HARTD, JOHN, and DAVIES, WILLIAM WEAVER, Bristol, and Elbow Vale and Sirhowy, Monmouthshire, iron masters, July 17, August 14: solicitors, Messrs Isaac Cooke and Son, Bristol, and Messrs Clarke and Co., Lincoln's inn fields, London.

MARKBY, FREDERICK, Peterborough, Northampton, common brewer, June 27, August 1: solicitors, Messrs Meredith and Reeve, Lincoln's inn, and Messrs Barley and Wise, March.

NAPPER, SAMUEL, 43, Upper Stamford street, Blackfriars, general dealer, July 4, July 28: solicitor, Mr Edward Burkhitt, Curriers' hall, 6, London wall.

PRICE, ROBERT, Waterloo, Lancashire, dealer in coals, July 5, August 2: solicitors, Mr Morrow, Liverpool, and Mr Whitehouse, Chancery lane, London.

ROWE, JAMES, 7, Blanford street, Marylebone, ironmonger, June 11, August 2: solicitor, Mr Clipperton, 17, Bedford row.

STARRS, CHARLES, Southampton, hotel keeper, June 27, July 28: solicitors, Messrs Smith and Atkins, Serjeant's inn, London.

TRAVIS, GEORGE WILLIAM, Sheffield, joiner, June 30, July 21: solicitors, Messrs Smith and Wightman, Sheffield, and Messrs Sudlow and Co., Chancery lane, London.

WATKINS, JAMES, 65, Exmouth street, Clerkenwell, draper, June 30, August 1: solicitors, Messrs Mardon and Pritchard, Christ church chambers, Newgate street.

WADDINGTON, ROBERT, Boston, Yorkshire, grocer, July 1, 27: solicitor, Mr Sanderson, Leeds.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

M'INNES, W. and T., Glasgow, builders, June 29, July 30.

M'LUCKIE, WILLIAM, Largs, Ayrshire, plasterer, June 29, July 23.

PEACOCK, DAVID, Dundee, wood merchant, June 28, July 20.

PROVAN, JOHN, Brownhills, Lanarkshire, farmer, June 24, July 14.

BRITISH FUNDS.

Owing to the uncertain character of the news received during the last few days, the funds are almost inactive.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	93½	93	93½	93½	93	93
5 per cent. Reduced	100½	101½	101½	101½	101½	101½
New 3½ per cent.	124	124	124	124	124	124
Long Annuities	179	179	178½	179	179	179
Bank Stock	53pm	56pm	56pm	56pm	58pm	54pm
India Stock	60pm	57pm	60pm	60pm	—	—
Exchequer Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
India Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	102½	Mexican	98½
Belgian	66	Peruvian	17
Brazilian	25½	Portuguese 5 per cents	66
Buenos Ayres	23½	Ditto 3 per cents	99
Columbian	86	Russian	113½
Danish	54½	Spanish Active	19
Dutch 2½ per cents	100	Ditto Passive	3
Ditto 5 per cents	—	Ditto Deferred	10½

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	39½	London and Brighton	38½
Birmingham & Gloucester	50	London & Croydon	10½
Blackwall	43	London and Greenwich	4½
Bristol and Exeter	55½	Ditto New	—
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	28	Manchester & Birm.	23½
Eastern Counties	9½	Manchester and Leeds	79
Edinburgh and Glasgow	50	Midland Counties	66
Great North of England	69	Ditto Quarter Shares	16½
Great Western	90½	North Midland	68
Ditto New	67	Ditto New	34
Ditto Fifties	17	South Eastern and Dover	23½
London and Birmingham	91½	South Western	64
Ditto Quarter Shares	36	Ditto New	—

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, June 19.

There was a moderate show of wheat this morning, but the trade opened languidly, and before any progress could be made in sales an abatement of 1s. to 2s. per qr on the currency of this day's night had to be submitted to.

Barley was scarce, and the turn dearer. Beans likewise brought rather more money, and the few peas offering were held 1s. per qr above previous rates.

Of oats the quantity on sale was very small, and this grain could scarcely have been bought on as easy terms as on Monday last.

Wheat, Red New	44 to 48	Malt, Ordinary	49 to 53
Fine	48 to 54	Pale	54 to 58
White	44 to 50	Peas, Hog	27 to 29
Fine	50 to 58	Maple	30 to 31
Eye	28 to 36	Bollers	30 to 32
Barley	24 to 28	Beans, Ticks	34 to 28
Malting	30 to 34		

Beans, Pigeon	29 to 34	Wheat	20s. 0d
Harrow	27 to 34	Barley	9 0
Oats, Feed	17 to 20	Oats	8 0
Pine	20 to 24	Rye	11 6
Poland	18 to 20	Beans	11 6
Potato	18 to 20	Peas	11 6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR JUNE 16.		AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.	
Wheat	48s. 4d.	Wheat	47s. 4d.
Barley	27 3	Barley	27 8
Oats	18 5	Oats	17 3
Rye	30 5	Rye	29 4
Beans	28 3	Beans	27 3
Peas	29 7	Peas	28 11

SEEDS.

There were several parcels of canaryseed offering, and though cheaper than on Monday last its disposal was somewhat difficult. In other kinds of seeds scarcely anything was done.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, June 19.

There was a slow demand for Irish butter all last week, and the transactions were few; prices may be regarded nominally as last quoted. Foreign—the best quality was in shorter supply, and 2s. per cwt dearer. Friesland and Kiel ruled at 8s. to 8½s.; Holland 7½s. to 8½s.; Leer, 7½s. to 7½s. Of bacon a good business was done at an advance of 1s. to 2s. per cwt. Prices as in quality, 8s., 3½s. to 4½s. Bale and tierce middles were in more request, and sales made at an improvement in price of 1s. to 2s. per cwt. Hams have sold well at 50s. to 6½s., and lard, in bladders, at 50s. to 55s.; kegs at 44s. to 47s. per cwt.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, June 19.

The market is very flat, and the duty is not backed. Prices are lower than on this day week for all sorts.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, June 19.

There having been a large arrival of slaughtered meat up to Newgate and Leadenhall markets during the past week, the trade this morning was in a very depressed state. Quotations suffered an abatement of at least 4d. per 8lbs.

Beef	2s. 6d. to 3s. 10d.	Veal	3s. 0d. to 4s. 0d.
Mutton	3 0 to 4 0	Pork	3 0 to 4 0
Lamb	4s. 2d. to 5s. 2d.		

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.			
Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday 430	9,200	300	340
Monday 2,900	38,300	180	413

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, June 19.			
Per 8lbs. by the carcase.			
Inferior Beef	2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d.	Inf. Mutton	2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d.
Middling do	2 10 to 3 0	Mid. ditto	2 10 to 3 6
Prime large	3 0 to 3 2	Prime ditto	3 8 to 3 10
Prime small	3 2 to 3 4	Veal	3 0 to 4 0
Large Pork	2 10 to 3 6	Small Pork	3 8 to 3 10
Lamb	4s. 4d. to 5s. 2d.		

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, June 19.
The arrivals of potatoes during the past week have been as follows:—viz., from Yorkshire, 280 tons; Scotland, 990; Devons, 222; Wiltshire, 80; Ireland, 60; Lynn, 65; Kent and Essex, 90; total, 1757 tons.

York reds	80s. to 100s.	Kent, whites	45s. to 50s.
Scottish ditto	55 to 70	Guernsey ditto	50 to 55
Devons	65 to 75	Wiltshire	50 to 55

COTTON.

The demand continuing limited throughout the week, quotations are again lower by ½d. per lb., for all qualities of American below good, the market closing at that decline. Brains are stationary. Egyptian and Ceylon islands without change. Surat is

heavy of sale, and like American, by ½d. per lb. lower. There have been taken on speculation 500 American, and for exportation 400 American and 400 Madras; and the entire transactions have amounted to 33,300 bales.

WOOL.

In consequence of the foreign sales going at lower prices, the British market has become quite flat, and a difficulty of selling at late prices is experienced.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, June 17.—At per load of 36 trusses.			
Coarse Meadow	60s. to 70s.	New Clover Hay	80s. to 105s.
New ditto	—	Old ditto	—
Useful old ditto	70 to 80	Oat Straw	40 to 45
Fine Upland do	84 to 88	Wheat Straw	40 to 45

COAL EXCHANGE, June 19.

Stewart's, 20s. 6d.; Heston's, 20s. 3d.; Lambton's, 20s.; Heston's, 20s. Ships arrived this week, 242.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, JUNE 20.

TEA.—About 25,000 packages are advertised for Thursday. Prices in the mean time are unaltered. The deliveries during the last week amounted to 500,000 pounds.

COFFEE.—There were not any public sales. By private contract the transactions were small, and prices are even lower for Mocha and Ceylon than last week.

SUGAR.—Prices are about 1s. per cwt lower, and the purchases of the trade amount only to 300 hhds and tierces. The refined market is equally flat. Standard kumps are offered at 78s. 6d. Brown grocery at 7½s. and best bonded crushed are 30s. 9d. per cwt sellers.

TALLOW.—St Petersburg yellow candle is offered at 4½s. 3d. per cwt on the spot, and 4½s. 9d. to 4½s. per cwt for the last three months.

Advertisements.

PEACE CONVENTION.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at

EXETER HALL, Strand, on MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1843. CHARLES HINDLEY, Esq., M.P., President of the Convention, will take the Chair at Eleven o'clock precisely.

Admission by Tickets only, which may be had at the Society's Office, 19, New Broad street; Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster row; Harvey and Darton, Gracechurch street; C. Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate street without; James Nisbet and Co., Borneo street; Joseph Steery and Sons, 168, High street, Borough; Jacob Post, Lower road, Islington; and at the Office of the Court Guide, Regent street.

A Meeting of the LEICESTER COMPLETE

SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, held at the Town Hall, on Tuesday, June 13, it was unanimously resolved:—

"That this Association, impressed with a sense of the oppression and wrong perpetrated for a long series of years upon the Irish nation by class legislation and general misgovernment, regard with indignation and alarm the recent unconstitutional interference of the present administration with the right of public discussion, and more especially with the introduction of the 'Irish Arms' bill, a measure embodying the most tyrannical principles; and, without entering on the question of repeal, expresses its cordial sympathy with every legal and peaceful effort their fellow subjects in Ireland may make, for their just and inalienable rights."

JOHN COLLIER, Chairman.

SPECIAL APPEAL in favour of the COLO-

NIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This Society has before it a most important work. It is planting the Gospel in the beginnings of great nations—of future Americas and New Englands. In this most interesting field it is doing a great work with very limited means. With such additions to its income as the Churches, even in these difficult times, could easily make, it might indefinitely extend its operations.

In seven years it has established thirty-three Ministers in the Colonies. They have all gathered Churches, established Schools, and entered on extensive itinerant labours. More than fifty Chapels have been built. Probably two thousand members have been gathered into communion.

The Society is in debt through deficiency of income during the last two years, so trying to all classes. The income for the year ending 31st March, 1843, was £268 2s. 7d. less than the expenditure; that for the year ending 31st March last, £235 17s. 4d.; thus the Society is now £332 19s. 11d. in arrears.

This debt, and the expenditure of the first half of the current year, must be provided for before any considerable amount of the regular income of the Society can be available, because almost all remittances in its favour are made in the spring and autumn seasons of the year.

In addition, the Committee feel in a measure pledged, to what indeed without that bond it ought to do without delay, to send forth three ministers this summer—one to Kingston, the second city in Canada West; another to St John's, New Brunswick, a city containing more than thirty thousand inhabitants; and a third to a Church at Sheffield, New Brunswick, which is looking to the Society for a pastor.

The Society cannot be released from its difficulties, and enabled to proceed efficiently with its operations, unless at least a thousand pounds can be obtained by a special effort. For that effort the Committee now make a respectful but earnest appeal. The proposal for making this appeal was submitted both to the recent General Meeting of the Society, and to the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union, and by both was approved and sanctioned.

To the numerous and liberal friends of the Society, this appeal is submitted by the Committee, with strong hopes that as both its object and its management have hitherto secured their approval, their liberal donations in this time of need will testify their continued attachment to a cause so full of interest and of hope.

J. R. MILLS, Treasurer.

ANDREW REED,

THOMAS BINNEY, } Secretaries.

ALGERNON WELLS,

Contributions may be paid or remitted to the treasurer, or either of the secretaries, at the Congregational Library, Blomfield street, Finsbury.

CONTRIBUTIONS ALREADY MADE.

J. R. Mills, Esq., treasurer of the society.....	£50 0 0	Thos Wilson, Esq.....	£21 0 0
Part of a donation of £500 in aid of British missions..	200 0 0	James Taylor, Esq.....	5 0 0
Joseph Trueman, Esq., Walthamstow	50 0 0	Mrs Taylor.....	5 0 0
Joseph Trueman, jun., Esq., High- bury.....	30 0 0	Mrs P. Lethem.....	5 0 0
A Lady, by Rev. T. Binney.....	10 0 0	Mr Curling.....	5 0 0
Dr Conquest.....	15 15 0	Richard Foster, Esq., Cambridge.....	10 0 0
T. Piper, Esq.....	10 0 0	Samuel Fletcher, Esq., Manchester	20 0 0
E. Smith, Esq.....	5 0 0	Mrs Wm Fletcher, Bath.....	10 0 0
Rev. J. J. Freeman	10 0 0	Wm Flanders, Esq.....	10 0 0
Rev. H. Cresswell..	5 5 0	Thomas Wontner, Esq.....	10 10 0
Joshua Wilson, Esq.	10 0 0	Joseph Wontner, Esq.	5 5 0
Rev. A. Reed, D.D.	20 0 0	Mrs H. Layland.....	5 5 0
Thomas Challis, Esq.	20 0 0	Miss R. Wontner ..	5 5 0
Rev. A. Wells.....	10 0 0	Collection at Craven chapel, by Rev. T. Binney.....	42 8 0
James Spicer, jun., Esq.....	10 10 0	T. M. Coombs, Esq., Edward Edwards, Esq.....	10 0 0
Rev. Thos Binney..	5 0 0	Rev. Wm Dryland, Newbury.....	5 0 0
Messrs Morleys....	31 10 0	Wm Baxter, Esq., Dundee.....	10 0 0
Rev. R. Ashton.....	5 0 0	J. G. Baxter, Esq.....	5 0 0
Putney.....	5 0 0	W. G. Baxter, Esq., Dundee.....	5 0 0
M. Lethem, Esq. ..	5 0 0		
Mr J. Unwin.....	5 0 0		

FINSBURY COMPLETE SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

A TEA PARTY AND SOIREE in honour of
W. S. CRAWFORD, Esq., M.P.,
and the other Parliamentary Supporters of the right of the People to a "full, fair, and free" Representation in the House of Commons, will be held at WHITE CONDUIT HOUSE, on Tuesday, June 27th.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., in the Chair.

Nearly One Hundred friends of the cause have been invited, including Members of Parliament, Dissenting Ministers, and Members of the Anti-slavery and Peace Conventions. Among the gentlemen who have already signified their intention of being present are SHARMAN CRAWFORD, Esq., M.P.; Dr BOWRING, M.P.; CHARLES HINDLEY, Esq., M.P.; J. TRELAWNEY, Esq., M.P.; Colonel THOMPSON; the Rev. Dr RITCHIE and JOHN DUNLOP, Esq., of Edinburgh; Mr HENRY VINCENT; Mr THOMAS BROS of Nottingham; Mr WARREN of Manchester; the Rev. J. LEAVITT, Editor of the *Emancipator* (Boston); Lewis Tappan, Esq.; and other gentlemen from the United States.

Tea on table at Half-past Five o'clock precisely. The Soirée to commence at Seven o'clock. Tickets for the Tea Party and Soirée, 1s. 6d. each; for the Soirée only, 6d. each; to be had at the following places:—Mr Adcock, 3, Camomile street, Bishopsgate; Mr T. Adcock, 33, New street, Dorset square; Mr Braden, near the Turnpike, Islington; Mr Butcher, 81, Long lane, Smithfield; Mr Brittain, 11, Paternoster row; Mr Dawes, near the bridge, Blackfriars road; Mr Goodes, Church street, Spitalfields; Mr Hall, near the turnpike, City road; Mr Hook, 141, St John street, Smithfield; Mr Mabbs, 139, Upper street, Islington; Mr Medley, 107, Old street, St Luke's; Mr Rogers, chemist, Kingland green; Mr Savage, Tottenham Court road; at the bar of the Tavern; and of the Secretary, Mr C. H. Elt, 18, High street, Islington.

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